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Atomic Alternatives

WITH every insult flung across the Paris peace-table, with every needless veto in the Security Council, every international "incident" and every diplomatic impasse, the unthinkable draws closer to the inevitable.

A year ago, with the world still awed by the vast horror that had fallen on Hiroshima, millions consoled themselves with the thought that the atomic bomb might mean the end of war—that naked fear would at last bring peace where individual intelligence, organized religion, and ages of bitter experience had failed. It is clear now that peace-by-fear is the least hopeful, the least tolerable, of any of those interludes by which men mark off their wars.

We know of no better gauge for measuring the distance we have slid down the slope to catastrophe since Hiroshima than the recent remarks of Dr. Harold C. Urey, a leading member of the Manhattan Project. Pleading for an effective international control of atomic energy, Dr. Urey does not confine himself to the usual warning that failure will inevitably lead to a "civilization-destroying war." He goes on, in the grimly practical fashion of scientists, to state the logical corollary: to head off such a war the United States might have to declare war itself, while the atomic bomb is exclusively ours, "with the frank purpose of conquering the world and ruling it as we desire, and preventing any other sovereign nation from developing mass weapons of war."

Dr. Urey is not a Russophobe, or a xenophobe; he is a man of peace and a democrat. The appalling alternative to international control which he suggests is one that he "cannot contemplate with any pleasure, but one which may be a strict necessity." The reasoning is clear: either international control or certain war; if war, then it is better, not merely for the United States but for the world, that the war be one-sided and short rather than evenly-matched, protracted, and resulting in mutual extermination.

Taken aback by the reaction to his views, Dr. Urey made it plain that his words were not intended as a threat, but rather as a warning. They are a warning to us as much as to the Soviet Union. For a preventive war would have devastating consequences to the United States. Morally it would lay upon the conscience of the country a strain that might well be insupportable. Politically it would change us overnight into a military dictatorship, permanently constituted to impose on a rebellious world a Pax Americana through force of arms.

No American—probably not even Colonel McCormick—can tolerate the thought of such a "solution." Yet the alternative, in the absence of international control, is still less tolerable. It has become so commonplace to speak of the "destruction of civilization" that the words already have a hollow sound. In a single year men have grown to live with the thought of doom, not by facing it but by letting words take the place of imagination. We speak of the atomic bomb now almost as we once spoke of poison gas or bombardment from the air—as horrors to be borne in wartime rather than the possible end of the human race. To freshen the perspective, to replace the dried-up phrases of the cliché-mongers with the searing picture of atomic war as it really is, we recommend to our readers the current issue of the *New Yorker*. The issue contains no cartoons, no stories, no bright and brittle comment on the minor foibles of men; its entire content is devoted to John Hersey's simple and magnificently detailed account of what happened to six citizens of Hiroshima who were lucky enough—if that is the word for it—to survive the tiny bomb that fell on their city on August 6, 1945.

We do not believe that the time has come to choose between Dr. Urey's preventive war and an ultimate clash of atom-armed powers, in which the Hiroshima bomb will have swelled to twenty times its potency and been duplicated by the thousand. The time for that decision may never come, but it is the blindest sentimentality to assume so. The Atomic Energy Committee of the United Nations, so far as the public knows, is still far from reconciling the differences between the American and Soviet approaches. The American representatives, in our opinion, have traveled much farther along the road to a sane solution than the Russians. Technically, the Baruch plan, as we have pointed out before, is vulnerable; but the Gromyko plan is impossible. In spirit both the Lilienthal and the Baruch reports are hopeful and intelligently resigned to an ultimate surrender of American

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sovereignty in the field of atomic controls. Gromyko, on the other hand, insists that "sovereignty is one of the cornerstones on which the United Nations structure is built" and objects to the American view that the whole question of atomic energy is of "international and not of national importance."

We understand that behind Gromyko's extreme remarks is the fear of a control body in which the Soviets might be outvoted. Similarly, behind Baruch's refusal to surrender the "know-how" and the stockpile until a control system is set up and in working order lie suspicion of the Soviets and the fear of political consequences at home. But in the light of the hideous alternatives, these considerations are not enough to justify the prolonged deadlock. The bargaining must go on.

Much as we have already yielded, we can and should make at least one more concession. We should stop making atomic bombs while the negotiations are in progress. Whatever our intentions might be, the continued manufacture of bombs can only look to the rest of the world like coercion, blatant enough to sow indignation and too ineffective to prevent even little Yugoslavia from shooting down our planes. As for the Russians, they have a wide gap to span between the archaic nationalism of Mr. Gromyko and an effective system of international control. It is inconceivable that they will make no effort to bridge that gap, but the choice is theirs—and they know by now what that choice really is. The time is running short, and as Mr. Baruch bluntly puts it, "The bomb does not wait upon debate. To delay may be to die."

The Shape of Things

A MORE SENSITIVE MONARCH THAN KING George II of Greece would long ago have concluded that he was unwanted by a people that had twice shed blood to get rid of him. He would also have had qualms about returning to a country on which he had saddled a dictatorship as brutal as any in pre-war Europe. But he is going back to Athens now, the beneficiary of a plebiscite dominated by terror from the right and fear of the left. Notwithstanding the two-to-one vote, nobody imagines that this mean and colorless failure, lacking even the traditional symbolism of British royalty, is what the Greek people need and want in a desperate moment of their history. They are a proud and politically sophisticated nation, and probably not even the violence of government-protected Royalist bands, the presence of two British divisions, and the subtle pressure of a "courtesy call" by units of the American fleet would have persuaded them to vote for George's recall if they were not ridden by even stronger fears. Assigned to the British sphere in secret talks between Stalin and Churchill, Greece has nevertheless become a key to the satisfaction of Soviet ambitions in Eastern Europe. Through applica-

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tion of what has come to be known as the "Azerbaijan formula," northern and eastern Greece could be neatly sliced off: an "independent" Macedonia closely allied to Yugoslavia, Eastern Thrace to Bulgaria, and Epirus to Albania. Turkey then would be effectively cut off from the west and Greece isolated, a harmless isle in a Soviet sea. Given the prevailing power politics of "the peace," British anxiety over the Eastern Mediterranean sector of the imperial lifeline is not hard to understand. What is incredible is the persistent and dangerous fallacy of British governments that Russian encroachments can be headed off only by blowing a semblance of life into decaying feudal remnants. Greece deserves something better than a choice between commissars and royal riff-raff.

*

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY congress that ended last Sunday in Paris reaches beyond the area of internal party disputes into the entire domain of French politics. To begin with, the congress will have an immediate effect on the new Constitution which in its present form depended upon the combined support of Socialists and Mouvement Republicain Populaire (M. R. P.) to counterbalance the more and more belligerent opposition of the Communists in the Assembly. It will also destroy some of the hopes entertained in moderate circles that the next elections might bring about a government of Socialists and M. R. P. representatives with some additions from the Radical-Socialists and other minor groups, but leaving the Communists outside. If one thing has clearly emerged from the congress, in the midst of all kinds of reciprocal concessions to avoid a split in the party, it has been the uncompromising will of the majority to rule out any flirtation with the party of M. Bidault. The M. R. P. was the main target of the delegates from the provinces where the traditional anti-clericalism of the French masses had been aroused by the creation of a Cabinet under Catholic leadership. With his experience of so many years in the labor movement, Léon Jouhaux had already warned the Socialist leaders not to allow themselves to appear as "the allies of the priests." Since the elections this feeling, strongly expressed at the Montrouge meeting in May, has swept every regional and local pre-congress gathering. It is not any personal objection to Bidault, whom everybody likes; it is fear of the Vatican smuggling itself, against all logic, into the France of the Liberation. From the point of view of personalities, there is not one among the new members of the National Executive Committee who can compare with the defeated leaders. Neither the young though successful Minister of Agriculture, Pierre Tanguy-Prigent, nor Guy Mollet, in spite of his excellent record in the Resistance, has the authority of a Léon Blum or a Vincent Auriol, but they have become the voice of the Socialist youth and the Socialist workers who, while favoring collaboration with the Communists for limited ends, demand party independence and leadership—leadership in directing France toward socialism and checking the increasing aggression of the reactionary forces.

*

NEHRU'S ALL-INDIAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT has taken office despite the continuing threat of a Moslem revolt. Two and a half centuries of uninterrupted British rule is at an end. The new government has been drawn from all sectors of the Indian community, includes some Moslem representation, and appears to be about as strong as it can be without Jinnah's cooperation. While some reports indicate that the Calcutta massacres had weakened Jinnah's influence with the Indian public—including many members of the Moslem League—his utterances remain as bellicose as ever. Few expect him to reverse his stand and accept Viscount Wavell's invitation to name five members of his group to the provisional government as replacements for the present Moslem members. Moreover, the new disorders in Bombay arising from the Moslem protest of the government's inauguration presage trouble ahead for Nehru. But the Attlee government has wisely and courageously decided not to let Moslem intransigence upset its timetable for Indian independence.

*

IF YOU WEREN'T IN THE ARMY YOU CAN learn a lot about the army from the Lichfield trials. Colonel Kilian and his subordinates were responsible for the extraordinary brutality and inhumanity of Lichfield, that concentration camp where "Work him over—just don't break too many bones" was a customary order, and where a guard was promoted for shooting at a prisoner who looked out of the window. It is a common belief in the army that Lichfield was no different, essentially, from other army prison camps in France and Italy; one of the defense attorneys made this clear when he asked for a directed verdict of acquittal, on the ground that the trials are "really a war on the army and its methods." This attorney did not understand or did not dare admit that these trials are really a part, a very disgraceful part, of the army and its methods: the defendants have been tried, convicted—they have not been punished. The jail sentences handed out to the first two defendants were promptly suspended; the other defendants have been punished by small fines or reprimands—a guard, for beating a prisoner with a club, was fined fifty dollars. Colonel Kilian was responsible for this beating and for many others—because of him Lichfield convinced most of its prisoners that they could expect neither justice nor mercy from the army they fought in and the country they fought for. For these offenses Colonel Kilian has received a $500 fine and a reprimand. Two privates, because they struck Colonel Kilian,

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are serving prison terms of six and seven years. This is army justice—the same justice that, time and time again during the war, sentenced enlisted men to life imprisonment, and dismissed officers from the service, for the same crime: rape.

*

THE TRIAL OF GENERAL GREGORI SEMENOV and seven other White Russian counter-revolutionaries on charges of treason and espionage carries us back to the all-but-forgotten days of the early 1920's when unofficial wars were under way at various places around the periphery of Red Russia. Although we have become accustomed to view with suspicion the confessions in Russian state trials, there can be no doubt of the authenticity of Semenov's admissions. His exploits as a leader of one of the most notorious of the White Guard bands were documented by American as well as Soviet observers. General Graves, head of the American expeditionary force in Siberia in 1918-20, declares that "there was only one worse criminal than Semenov, that was Kalmikov" (another notorious White Guard leader). The followers of both of these men, according to General Graves, "were roaming the country like wild animals, killing and robbing the people." In view of his known record, it is not difficult to believe his further admission that he had plotted to kill Lenin, and had accepted Japanese aid in setting up schools to train spies and terrorists for counter-revolutionary work in the Soviet Union. The only suspicious element in his testimony concerned his alleged change of heart after his capture by Soviet forces in Manchuria.

Pacific Coast Conference

THE annual fall conference of The Nation Associates will be held this year on September 21 and 22 in Los Angeles. Planned and organized by members on the Coast, the two-day meeting will take up a wide range of topics grouped under a compendious title—"The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement." One session will be devoted to the election campaign, with special attention to issues and men of particular interest to the West; another to United States foreign policy, keyed to the problems directly menacing peace (the first subject discussed will be the dangerous two-world approach to security—America and Britain on one side, the Soviet Union on the other); a third, to economic security as an essential factor in the maintenance of peace; and a final session on the question of chief importance to our time and nation: Is liberalism capable of providing the dynamics necessary for the defense of democracy?

As is usual at conferences of The Nation Associates, the sessions will end with a dinner forum to be addressed by persons whose names stand for national leadership in progressive thinking and acting. Among them will be Thurman W. Arnold, former associate justice of the United States Court of Appeals; Bartley C. Crum, president of the National Lawyers Guild and, recently, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine; Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon; Dore Schary, leading Hollywood producer; and the editor of *The Nation*. A full announcement appears on page 276 of this issue.

One of the features of the occasion will be a special Pacific Coast supplement to *The Nation*. It will be edited by our staff contributor, Carey McWilliams, published in Los Angeles, and circulated among members of the conference. A distinguished group of Western writers will contribute articles relating to the region and to the subjects under discussion. A limited number of copies may be available for members of The Nation Associates and Western subscribers.

We consider this conference one of the most important The Nation Associates has held and we urge all members and readers on the Coast who can possibly do so to attend and take an active part. The value of such a discussion depends quite as much upon the participation of an intelligent audience as upon the topics and speakers appearing in the program.

Anderson Must Go

SECRETARY ANDERSON'S action in setting beef and pork ceilings far above the June 30 levels was unexpected and disturbing. Its economic and political implications are obvious. Combined with the order of the Price Decontrol Board lifting ceilings on grains and dairy products, it threatens to dynamite the Administration's stabilization efforts. For it should be evident even to the most rock-ribbed member of the N. A. M. or the farm bloc that we cannot have a further sharp increase in the price of such vital products as meat, cereals, and dairy products without immediate demands for higher wages on the part of labor. Already there are intimations of a new wave of strikes that may prove even more crippling than those we have lately experienced.

The extent of the rise in living costs since June 30 shows that inflation is here, and in an extreme form. During the long Chinese inflation, in which prices have risen to 4,000 times their pre-war level, the average rate of increase has been approximately 10 per cent a month. In the two months since expiration of the OPA, food prices in this country have risen more than 30 per cent. The new meat ceilings will raise beef prices by approximately 10 per cent and pork prices more than 5 per cent. Cost-of-living figures do not yet reflect the price rises granted by the OPA in recent weeks on a multitude of manufactured goods, but when the figures are available,

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the advance in the cost of living is bound to be close to the 10 per cent rate.

In justification of his action Secretary Anderson declares that a substantial boost in meat prices is essential in order to assure adequate production. Referring to the recent heavy marketing of livestock, he declared that an increase in price is essential to bring cattle and hogs into the feeding lots. Without doubt there is truth in his contention. But it is based on a type of reasoning that views a temporary shortage of meat as a greater evil than the wrecking of the American economy through inflation. This was virtually admitted by an official spokesman of the Department of Agriculture in a revealing statement to a Washington newspaperman the day after Secretary Anderson issued his order. "Our interest," the spokesman declared, "is primarily in the American producer . . . the interest of the Department of Agriculture in the consumer is only academic."

When the department's objectives are stated in these terms it is easy to understand why Paul Porter was unable to persuade Mr. Anderson to restore the June 30 ceilings. But there remains the question of how it is possible in a supposedly national Administration for the interests of the majority of the population to be thus rudely overridden by the representative of a single sector of the population. Admittedly, Congress gave the Secretary of Agriculture power to fix meat ceilings. Voters will do well to recall this fact at the November elections. Nevertheless, the Administration is supposed to be a team responsible to the President and through him to the people as a whole. If there is conflict within the team, the President should step in and make the final decision. The Secretary of Agriculture has clearly violated the basic principles of the stabilization program as established by President Roosevelt and reaffirmed by President Truman. He should be asked to resign and the President should appoint a successor who is willing to carry out the Administration's policy.

Week-End Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HAVING no vote in the Security Council, I delayed making up a rather disheveled mind about the merits of the candidates for admission to the U. N. I tried to remember what sorts of qualities we insisted upon in my high-school fraternity. Members had to be congenial and nicely dressed, as I recall, and not too serious-minded. Our motto was, "As one lamp lights another nor grows less, so nobleness enkindleth nobleness," but you weren't expected to live up to that until you got in. And afterward—well then it was too late to do much about it.

But today, somehow, these excellent requirements seem hardly sufficient. There may even be too many well-dressed, unserious members of the U. N. already. As I looked the candidates over, I kept remembering something Cordell Hull said toward the end of the war. (Anti-fascism was still in style then.) Mr. Hull said, "There can be no compromise with fascism and Nazism." He said the Allies were agreed that "even after the defeat of the enemy there will be no security unless and until our victory is used to destroy these systems to their very foundations." Those words, I thought, could be made into a pretty good test of eligibility. I decided, too, that members of the U. N. fraternity ought to be more or less independent—at least not cut out of whole cloth by some other nation. By applying these rather unofficial criteria and taking a quick look at the Charter, I tentatively marked a ballot: Transjordan, no; Outer Mongolia, no; Portugal, no; Albania, yes; Eire, grudgingly, yes; and yes for the others. But then, nobody asked me and it didn't come out at all like that. . . . Never mind, America welcomes its new fellow members—Iceland, Sweden, and Afghanistan—and offers them its brotherly devotion and possibly a loan. As for the fraternity secrets, I'm afraid we cannot share those for a while. Initiation must wait until the atom commission has finished its work.

The Mufti is as fine a scoundrel as the Middle East has ever produced. He is unscrupulous, cruel, treacherous, crafty, able, and attractive. He has the magic of leadership and so the capacity to do harm on a big scale. If the British had allowed him to come to London with the Arab delegation to the Palestine conference, they would have been forced, in honor and consistency, to ask for the acquittal of all the war criminals in the dock at Nürnberg. (Of course, if they and the French had done their duty he would be there, too.) For the Mufti is not only an old hand at the sport of political assassination and plotting on his own grounds, but during the war he carried his activities first to Iraq, where he organized a pro-Nazi coup whose failure was not his fault, and finally to Germany itself. There he established offices, with branches and correspondents in Rome and Tokyo, and spent his time organizing Arab support for the Axis and having his picture taken with top-rank Nazi chieftains —even with Hitler himself. History may give the Mufti credit for the highest service to his master's cause. Documents unearthed in Germany indicate that Haj-Amin el Husseini may have actually invented the idea of the mass extermination of Jews. At least we know he advocated it in his regular broadcasts from Berlin.

In any case, whether for his crimes against humanity or for his operations against the Allies, the Mufti has been ruled out and the Arabs of Palestine, who acknowledge him as their spiritual as well as their political leader, have decided to boycott the London conference. The Arab states, however, have so far stood by their

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decision to send delegates and this suggests that the Mufti is less potent in areas where he has been unable to eliminate political opponents as thoroughly as he has done in Palestine. The Jews, too, are reconsidering their decision to stay away from London; and for the first time since the Anglo-American Committee made its report we have some excuse for optimism. The barring of the Mufti, the commutation of the death sentences against eighteen young Jewish terrorists, and above all Britain's apparent willingness to accept the Jewish Agency's proposals as a basis for discussion indicate a slow conversion in London toward the ideas British Labor has always professed. If the Jewish leaders are wise and firm they will take full advantage of this shift without abandoning the precautions every subject people must observe in dealing with their rulers. This is a moment when decency has a small chance to succeed. It had better not be lost.

So You Want a New Car

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, August 29

IN these dull summer days there is always one place restless with problems and bulging with news. It is the big converted warehouse in the sagging slum district where the OPA lives.

Working there in their shirt sleeves in the August heat, a group of men are trying to break a billion-dollar black-market racket whose chief victims are veterans. It is the black market in automobiles. One-fourth, perhaps more, of the cars sold since the OPA went back into business were sold at above-ceiling prices.

The bonuses paid for cars are fantastic—$500, $1,000, $2,500, a diamond ring, a city lot. Prodded into action by the outraged squawks of the veterans, the OPA is just beginning to swing into a highly organized enforcement and educational campaign designed to crack this spreading racket.

A specialized group of enforcement agents—men who smashed the big-time operations in counterfeit ration coupons—have been augmented by new agents from other government agencies. OPA top officials have given the go-ahead signal for the agents to concentrate on the automobile black market.

Last Monday a number of special agents moved into the sleepy Southern town of Leesville, South Carolina, a community of two thousand persons. To a stranger there was something very curious about this town. The shady streets and vacant lots were jammed with cars, hundreds of them. Leesville was the hub of what the OPA claims was a one-hundred-million-dollar ring operating in black-market cars. Its fingers allegedly spread all over the Southwest and up into the North.

On this day the OPA agents walked casually among the salesmen in a huge open-air sales lot a short distance from the town. They stopped to look at cars and haggle over prices. They noticed that one-fourth of the autos were new models. Other agents roamed the streets jotting down the license numbers of visitors. They would follow these leads later to surprised dealers who patronized the sales every Monday.

With the evidence all gathered, the agents struck. They arrested six alleged salesmen. Using marked money the OPA officers had bought five cars at over-ceiling prices, according to the allegations. Two of the cars were new and three were used. They paid approximately twice the ceiling price, it is claimed. The OPA says the agents could have bought scores more if they had had more money.

This raid had been carefully planned for weeks. It was appropriately named "Operation Circus," because of the gala atmosphere of the open-air market. This, however, was just one of the many alleged organized black-market centers spotted all over the United States. Sales lots are ingeniously hidden away in small country towns.

Another alleged ring worked out of Murray, Kentucky, a small town near the Tennessee border, and, according to the OPA, included dealers in the South and Midwest. Its operation was well organized. Spotters were hired in large cities—busy legmen hanging around bars, movies, even churches looking for good buys, preferably new cars. These scouts would stop owners as they entered their cars; often they jumped on the running-board. The driver would be offered a fancy price for his car. The standard rate was $500 over the ceiling price for a new car. The spotters got $25 for each car they brought in.

The OPA says that the cars were then taken either to Murray or to Cairo, Illinois. The alleged ring advertised to dealers throughout the Southwest that cars would be offered for sale at auction. According to the OPA, these "auctions" were merely a blind, and the deals were consummated before the automobiles ever went on the block.

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There is some evidence in the OPA Washington offices that the gangsters who always follow the easy-money rackets have moved into the car black market. One man picked up by the agents had a record of forty-one previous arrests. Robert Ehrlich, in charge of the OPA special agents, prefers to call many of the men linked up with the organized gangs "shadowy characters."

The strategy of the OPA is twofold. The most publicized campaign is against the organized black-market gangs, with a quick follow-up on the dealers who have been spotted at the sales. But a hard day-in-and-day-out job is being done by agents in every part of the country, picking up dealers who are cashing in on the easy money of the black market. These agents have been averaging arrests or suits against three violators every month. The practice of selling over ceilings is so widespread that the OPA doesn't have a chance to pick up all the violators. The technique is to spot the enforcement activities regularly over a wide area and hope that the publicity will scare other dealers into being good boys.

No dealer can be sure when he offers a car at an over-ceiling price that he is not talking to an OPA agent or a citizen who is cooperating in the campaign. The OPA has a fund to make buys. It is also enlisting the help of enraged consumers.

The rackets are many and ingenious. One is the trade-in deal. The prospective buyer with a car to trade in will be offered $600 less than it is worth. If he objects, he doesn't get the new car.

There is the overhaul racket. The consumer buys a used car at the ceiling price and then is charged $250 for an overhaul job he does not want or need.

There is the finance racket. The car is sold at the ceiling price, but the buyer is required to finance it through the dealer, who tacks on exorbitant extra charges. There is the gadget racket. The consumer is forced, if he wants a car, to pay for trinkets and extra equipment which he would ordinarily never put on the car.

Another racket is for a dealer to accept "gifts." As mentioned above, the OPA discovered dealers taking in diamond rings and even city lots.

A complicated procurement system was uncovered in an Eastern city. The racketeers had stooges put their names on dealers' lists; when the stooge got his car, it went to the ring for a $1,000 bonus. Another $600 was added to the cost to the ultimate consumer.

The most lucrative and most dangerous of all the car rackets is to smuggle automobiles across the border into Canada or Mexico and into the export market, where even more fabulous prices are offered for American-made automobiles. The OPA has the cooperation of other interested federal agencies in trying to stop this operation.

The enforcement campaign has been so widespread that little publicity has been given to it. Nineteen were indicted by a grand jury in Newark. An agent in New York bought a used station wagon allegedly at almost $1,200 over the ceiling. A Des Moines dealer was accused of gypping twenty-six customers by low trade-in allowances. A Springfield, Missouri, salesman was charged with asking $2,200 over the ceiling for a new Buick. In Evansville, Indiana, a veteran led agents to a dealer who, he claimed, had offered a car at above the ceiling. In Detroit, twenty-two pleaded guilty of running a $3,000,000 used-car racket.

The veterans have been the chief victims of the auto black market. Many veterans sold their cars for a nest egg for the wife and family when they were inducted; when they are discharged, they look around for a replacement. They put their names on the dealers' lists. But many veterans have complained to the OPA that they have seen "war profiteers" riding around in that shiny new car while their names have been passed over on the lists. The OPA has encouraged veterans to sue, and ask for an injunction against the offending dealers.

Other veterans, desperately in need of cars, have had to plunk down their savings and their terminal-leave pay to buy one. In at least one community, Houston, Texas, veterans have organized to help the OPA break the racket. In many other isolated cases, veterans have walked into the local OPA offices and led agents to the dealers.

The consumer, if he only knew it, has the law on his side and can trim the racketeer. The first step is to report to the local Price Control Board. The buyer who has been charged over the ceiling not only can collect the amount charged over the ceiling; he can also sue for treble damages and get three times the amount of the overcharge plus attorney fees and court costs. Scores of these suits, encouraged by the OPA, are being filed every week. A good many shamefaced dealers have settled on the spot rather than be dragged into court.

There is no danger of the buyer losing that precious new car. The OPA emphasizes that.

The OPA needs the help of the consumers to smash the racket. The automobile assembly lines which produced three million cars a year were shut down or converted to war for four years. The current rate of production is two million cars a year. It will be a year, maybe much longer, before supply meets the demand. Then will come that wonderful day of justice when the buyer can walk coldly by the dealer who was selling cars at double the price.

There are a few simple facts the prospective customer should know before he goes car shopping. All cars—both new and second-hand—have OPA price ceilings on them. The local Price Control Board has these figures, as well as legitimate costs for extra equipment. It is against the law for any dealer to sell above ceilings. It is illegal for a dealer to require any kind of "side pay-

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ment." The buyer cannot be required to make extra cash payments that are not shown on the sales record. It is illegal for a dealer to require the buyer to purchase anything he doesn't want in order to get a car. No law requires him to trade in one car to get another. If you do trade in a car, you are entitled to a reasonable value. The OPA has ruled what a "reasonable value" is. The customer cannot be required to buy the car "on time." He can choose any finance company he wants. With the sale of every new car, the dealer must prepare and give the buyer a certificate of transfer showing all charges.

One weapon which would go a long way toward smashing the black market would be for the manufacturers to take away the franchise of any dealer convicted of over-ceiling sales. The franchises are worth thousands of dollars, and dealers would think twice about making an easy profit now if they knew they might lose their franchise.

Thus far, the OPA has heard only a grapevine rumor that one manufacturer, Ford, is considering using this weapon to clear an ugly stain from the reputation of the automobile industry.

Can France's Empire Survive?

BY ANDREW ROTH

Marseilles

UNDER the impact of insurgent colonial nationalism, France's own material weakness, and the jealous interest of rival powers, the French empire would seem to be in danger of dissolution. Actually, however, it is not; for France seems to have learned a timely lesson—that only a more liberal empire can survive.

None of the "Quiz Kids," or "Brain Trusters," of France can yet define the structure of the "French Union"—the phrase which has now replaced "French Empire" in describing both the forty million people of France proper and the seventy million in its overseas territories. Its precise structure is still being worked out. But it is already clear that the new structure will not be the highly centralized, assimilationist empire of the old-style French imperialists. In their scheme France held an industrial and economic monopoly, and its colonies were bound to it by a dependence on its manufactures, markets, and great monopolistic banks like the Bank of Indo-China. Each territory was prompted in its allegiance by the French army and police and a colonial élite which—whether of Arab, Negro, Indo-Chinese, or West Indian background—was educated in France and assimilated to French culture.

World War II soon spotlighted the fatuousness of this policy. Once France, the industrial center, was overrun in 1940, Indo-China fell like a ripe plum into Japanese hands, and the African territories were of little use by themselves as a base for anti-Nazi resistance.

ANDREW ROTH, a regular contributor to The Nation *and author of "Dilemma in Japan," is en route to Asia via Europe and the Middle East. He has recently been broadcasting from Cairo for the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is his third report on the present condition and future prospects of the great pre-war colonial empires.*

The pre-war policy is even more ridiculous in the cold light of the post-war world. In most French territories the inhabitants are asserting a desire to develop their own national personality rather than become merely imitation Frenchmen. In the most recent elections in Algeria the Moslem electorate voted overwhelmingly for the Algerian Manifesto Party, whose program can be summed up in one of their slogans: "We do not want to be bastard sons of France!" The strength and popular support of the Indo-Chinese movement for independent nationhood has been enough to compel the French government to recognize the Viet Nam Republic as a free state within the French Union.

Even if it wanted to, liberated France does not have the economic and military strength to suppress all the nationalist stirrings in its territories. According to official estimates France emerged from the war a trillion francs (or eight billion dollars) poorer than in 1938. Factories which cannot provide reconstruction material for France itself cannot underwrite extensive colonial expeditions. It is estimated that Indo-Chinese military operations have already set the French treasury back some $200,000,000. Short of man-power, the French at one time recruited criminals, and later German P. O. W.'s, to strengthen the Indo-China garrison; and according to American military authorities, French troops which recently left Marseilles for Indo-China apparently felt themselves so underequipped that they stole more than thirty American jeeps and stripped them for spare parts.

The French are not only fully cognizant of their own material weaknesses but—particularly after being edged out in Syria and Lebanon by the British—are sensitive to the possibility that other powers may offer better terms to France's dissident territories. It is significant that last winter a *Nation* article of mine, somewhat sympathetic

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to the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese, which was reprinted in the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune*, brought forth the accusation in the rightist press that I was "an advance agent for American capitalists." This sensitivity toward encroachment on French interests is also strong on the left: both Communists and Socialists emphasize the necessity for winning the loyalty of the Arabs in French North Africa to prevent them from gravitating toward the British-influenced Arab League.

FRENCH SOLAR SYSTEM

Under the pressure of nationalistic demands, their own material weakness, the possibility of better terms being offered by other powers, and the heightened respect for freedom in a France that itself has been liberated, the French government has been moving toward better relations with its colonies with enough speed to provoke shrill screams of anguish from diehard imperialists in the colonial service and most colonial businessmen. In general the movement is toward decentralization: the new arrangement will resemble a solar system with France as the sun and the other members of the French Union revolving about it at various distances from the parent body. The orbit of the Viet Nam Republic—which is pushing toward full dominion status—will be on the outermost periphery. French Equatorial Africa—where national consciousness is at a minimum and the chief current goal is full French citizenship—will revolve close to the parent body. The orbits of the other territories will be found in between, varying according to the attraction of France, the repulsion of native nationalist forces, and the drawing power of other countries. No simple pattern is possible because the French Union embraces peoples in many stages of development and has the additional complication of over a million Europeans implanted in overwhelmingly Moslem-Arab North Africa.

The first timid step toward decentralization and greater local autonomy in the territories was taken at the famous Brazzaville Conference which was opened in January, 1944, by General De Gaulle and numbered among those present the heads of all the African colonies, as well as delegates from the Consultative Assembly which had just been established in Algiers. Brazzaville recommended considerable decentralization of political power—to be wielded by governors-general in consultation with local assemblies—and decentralized economic planning, including greater industrialization and improved agricultural techniques. Although Brazzaville marked an advance in colonial thinking, it was hardly an "anti-colonial revolution," as some describe it. It is not *necessarily* an improvement for the colonial peoples if their French governor-general has more power, particularly if the government at home is more liberal than the official in the field—as is frequently the case. Furthermore, while the conference advocated extended education, it specified the language used should be French and suggested a delay of five years before forced labor should be abolished. It was silent on the important questions of the economic domination of the colonies by the giant trusts and banks, and of whether the colonial peoples should have freedom of speech, movement, assembly, and organization.

The real improvement in French colonial policy began last winter when General de Gaulle was replaced by Socialist Félix Gouin as Premier and Socialist Marius Moutet assumed the portfolio of the Ministry of Overseas France—formerly the Ministry of Colonies—a post he held in Blum's Popular Front cabinet and which he holds today under Premier Bidault. Soon after Moutet took office he declared in a speech to the Constituent Assembly that the French government could no longer act as a lord or master, but only as a friend and partner. Actions proved that this was more than good French rhetoric. On March 2 a general amnesty in Algeria freed virtually all of the nationalist leaders who had been imprisoned in the wake of severe riots in May, 1945. Four days later the way was paved for peace in Indo-China by the recognition of the Viet Nam Republic as a free state within the French Union, entitled to its own parliament, army, and foreign representation. In April the French Constituent Assembly abolished forced labor in the colonies. In May a law was passed to make French citizens of all —rather than merely the elite—in overseas territories. Furthermore, a number of other measures, including the elimination of discrimination in justice and civil service appointments have been put through. And the successful application of these liberal measures is made more likely by the emergence of a number of very liberal career officials in the Ministry of Overseas France, headed by able, energetic Director of Political Affairs Laurentie, who made his reputation as a progressive governor of Madagascar.

MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN

However, many important problems still remain virtually untouched. In some of the meetings held in West Africa in July to celebrate the granting of French citizenship to all inhabitants of overseas territories, rope barriers still divided the audiences into Negro and white listeners. French social-security legislation and other social laws do not even apply to Algeria—which is technically part of France—much less the other territories. In North Africa the Arab language, although the mother tongue of the great majority, is not recognized. In Martinique, "Pearl of the Antilles," the economy is still monopolized by the "Ten Families" while the majority of the population earns about $75 a year cutting cane. Throughout the overseas territories the power of the giant banks and commercial companies still remains strong, while the voice of the impoverished landless cultivator can only be heard feebly.

Even worse than these unsolved problems are those

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cases where, having taken two steps forward, the French seem to be trying to take a step backward. The outstanding case is Indo-China where in March the French agreed that the boundaries of the Republic of Viet Nam should be determined by referendum. Yet, on the day after the Viet Nam delegation left for Paris to work out a detailed solution of their status, the local French authorities inspired and "recognized" an anti-Viet Nam Republic of Cochin-China, headed by wealthy collaborationists, and also hastened to sponsor secessionism in the rich mountain plateau of South Annam. In terms of traditional "divide-and-rule" colonial politics this may be a smart maneuver, for these southern areas are the granaries of Indo-China, and if the French hold them, they will be able to impose severe restraints on the development of the Viet Nam Republic. But it bears no resemblance to the brave spirit of the new French colonial policy.

It was a survival of the old, unilateral colonial spirit which moved the local authorities in Indo-China to call a conference of the "Indo-Chinese Federation" at Dalat on August 1 before the organization of this federation had been discussed in the French-Viet Nam negotiations at Fontainebleau. Quite naturally, the Viet Nam negotiators suspended their participation, while the French Socialist and Communist press attacked the Indo-Chinese authorities for their "two-faced game."

TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

Part of the reason for such contradictions between words and deeds lies in the existence within the present French government of very different strains of thought on colonial policy. The High Commissioner in Indo-China, Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, who doffed his vestments as head of the Carmelite monks to reenter the navy, is close to the M. R. P., the party of Premier Bidault. The M. R. P. is very conservative on colonial affairs, and contains in its leadership people with colonial interests such as Max André, former director of the Franco-Chinese Bank, the second biggest bank in Indo-China. It is noteworthy that when the Viet Nam delegation objected to Admiral d'Argenlieu as head of the French delegation negotiating with them at Fontainebleau, Premier Bidault replaced him with André.

In the current Constituent Assembly discussions on the French Union, the M. R. P.—with the support of many conservative colonial officials—has favored the immediate imposition of a constitutional structure which will, in effect, limit overseas representation before the tide of nationalism gets into full swing. It favors siphoning this representation off into a separate chamber (Assembly of the Union) and a separate cabinet (Council of State) both of them heavily loaded with French and representatives of French puppets such as the Bey of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco. The M. R. P. favors action on these proposals by the present Constituent Assembly without further consultation with colonial peoples beyond the minority of representatives they have in the present Assembly.

Against these M. R. P. plans the Communists have put up a stiff, if somewhat opportunistic, opposition. They are pushing hard for the extension of political rights in the colonies, for almost everywhere that impoverished colonials have the opportunity to vote, they vote left. Both representatives of Catholic Martinique are Communists, and the delegation of the Algerian Manifesto Party, which swept the Moslem electorate, is seated in the Constituent Assembly between the Communists and Socialists. The President of the Viet Nam Republic, Ho Chi Minh, was a charter member of the French Communist Party. As a result of this strong leftward current in the colonies, the Communists favor the representation of overseas territories directly in the National Assembly, rather than in the separate, loaded chamber proposed by the M. R. P. They also advocate that statutes for the French Union be written by a separate Constituent Assembly with major participation by the overseas majority and that greatly expanded powers be granted to popularly elected overseas legislatures.

The Communists are curiously circumspect about their colonial position. I canvassed the main Communist bookshop twice and could not find a book or pamphlet on the subject, merely a very general article in a recent issue of their theoretical magazine *Cahiers de Communisme*. When I confronted stocky, confident Communist leader Jacques Duclos with this fact he grinned broadly and said that this was "a matter of tactics, not of principle;" the colonial question is "very delicate," and (shades of Earl Browder!) the French Communists have no intention of losing any votes in the coming election by telling Frenchmen they are imperialists.

As in most French political matters, the balance of power on colonial affairs is in the hands of the Socialists, and, although lately they have voted with the M. R. P. on a number of subjects, on colonial matters they have recently swung close to the Communists. After remaining somewhat aloof on Indo-Chinese questions for some time, on July 23 *Le Populaire's* editor, Oreste Rosenfeld, swung into a sharp attack on the "duplicity" of French activities in Cochin-China, "where the chief interests of colonial capitalism are concentrated," and strongly supported the position of the Viet Nam delegation, including their demand for representation in the United Nations.

In the same week veteran Socialist Charles Dumas, after attending the Congress of North African Socialists at Algiers, urged upon the French Socialist Party all possible haste in extending to Africa all French social laws, improved education, industrialization, and agrarian reforms. "France will only be able to maintain its position," he warned, "if it brings social justice as well as liberty."

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Russia's Next Five Years

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

PERHAPS the best yardstick of Russia's strength today is the new Five Year Plan. The potentialities of the plan, its achievements to date, its shortcomings and proposals for correcting them occupy a prominent place in the Soviet press and, one suspects, in the reports of foreign ambassadors in Moscow to their governments. The Five Year Plan is being discussed by experts and laymen, by soldiers and sailors, in the factories and on the collective farms, at rest homes and sports clubs. Its promise and daring have roused the imagination of the young; for them it is a sequel to the exciting story of the war, and the names of Stalingrad and Magnitogorsk, city of steel and city of electricity, spell new adventures in a continuing chapter of Soviet history. Even foreign journalists from more or less hostile camps, remembering previous experiences, are wary in their predictions; rather than risk skeptical criticism, they accept at least the fact of Russia's determination to succeed. Thus, Emile Magnus, who recently returned from the Soviet Union, commented in the conservative *Monde Illustré* of August 10: "People talk of miracles. The miracle is the socialist state's capacity for work."

I have my doubts about supernatural explanations. The churches in Russia are open and well frequented these days, but the Soviet Union bases neither its politics nor its economics on miracles. What distinguishes the new Five Year Plan from similar projects being tested with limited success in other parts of Europe is its realistic approach: the essential trait of Soviet planning has always been a healthy empiricism. This time the starting point is a recognition of the limitations revealed by Russian industry during the war. Taken by itself, the record was impressive—factories had doubled, some had even tripled, the production quotas assigned to them. But the fact remains that, despite the spirit of sacrifice displayed by the workers on the home front, the Red Army received twice as much equipment from the Allies as it did from Russian war plants. Moreover, it was not only a question of amount; even before the war the Russians had the greatest respect for American industrial techniques, a respect that increased when American equipment first arrived on the Eastern front and when the magnificently armed American soldiers appeared on the battlefields of Europe. To my surprise, I heard little talk about the atomic bomb in Moscow, but the Russians are acutely aware of American leadership in technical accomplishment.

Stalin did not blink at the conclusions to be drawn from the lessons of the war: that the tempo and scope of Russian industrialization must be increased in order to insure the country's economic independence in a period of international crisis. According to the Premier's statement, the aim of preparing Russia for any emergency will be achieved only when production of iron, steel, and coal is four times greater than pre-war output and oil production has been doubled. That will take many years, perhaps two more five-year plans, but the present plan, even if it should not be fully achieved—though most serious observers are convinced that it will be—justifies the assertion I made in my first article that Russia is daily growing stronger.

The factor of security, of safeguarding the country against any future attack, is as evident in Russia's Five Year Plan as in its foreign policy. But it would be a mistake to interpret the plan exclusively in terms of military preparedness. Should genuine universal disarmament become a reality tomorrow, the U. S. S. R. would still have a Five Year Plan, equally ambitious in purpose though, of course, different in emphasis. The fierce will to repair the ravages of Nazi aggression, to resume the immense effort of socialist construction interrupted, after twelve years of progress, by the war, would produce the same tempo now being displayed.

If the present troubled situation of the world—which has ended the war but not yet found peace—forces the Russians to put production of iron, steel, and coal before that of consumers' goods, still a good part of those resources are being used to build a country in which life will be more enjoyable and exciting for the average man; side by side with the billions of rubles allocated to heavy industry are enormous appropriations for new cities, parks, workers' rest-homes, theaters, cinemas, libraries, and schools.

The five main headings of the report submitted by Mr. Voznesenski, chairman of the Gosplan, give a good idea of its multiple objectives:

1. Increase in industrial production of almost 50 per cent over pre-war levels.
2. Revival of agriculture and consumers'-goods in-

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, European editor of The Nation, *here describes Russia's new Five Year Plan in the last of four articles reporting his recent visit to the U. S. S. R. Other aspects of Soviet life will be dealt with from time to time in Mr. del Vayo's regular page, soon to be resumed.*

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dustries in order to guarantee the material well-being of the Soviet peoples.

3. Guaranties of new technical progress in all branches of the national economy, providing a strong impetus for increased production.

4. Guaranties of a rapid accumulation of socialist capital, with a total, centrally-administered investment of 250 billion rubles for the reestablishment and development of the national economy.

5. Further increase in the defense potential: the army to be equipped with the most modern material.

In the devastated regions the Five Year Plan has already begun to demonstrate its possibilities. When the Germans swept through White Russia, they destroyed practically every industrial plant and business house, leaving mountains of rubble as reminders that here had stood busy cities like Minsk, Gomel, Vitebsk, and Orsha. The number of farmhouses made uninhabitable exceeds 350,000. The entire area has been reduced to the level of 1913. German occupation authorities themselves estimated that it would take ten years, at the very minimum, to rebuild White Russia. Today it is certain that it will be accomplished within the life of the present Five Year Plan. Industrial production in the last quarter of 1945 had risen to twice that of the first quarter. But as in the rest of the country, the plan is not limited even in the devastated areas to reconstruction; it calls for new construction on a much larger scale than before the war. The achievements in the electrical industry since the start of the plan indicate that by 1950 White Russia will be producing twice as much power as in 1940.

The push given to already existing industries has meant the rapid expansion of new developments, particularly housing. A fever of building, which started in the devastated districts, has spread to all parts of the country. Local authorities in cities like Leningrad are swamped with requests for living quarters—a family of five will modestly ask for a single room. Moscow has been literally invaded by people from other regions left homeless by the war. The suffering inflicted by the scorched-earth policy of the Germans—which immunized me against any sentimental grief at the sight of shattered Berlin—together with the desire to compensate the people for the new, tremendous sacrifices demanded of them, has led the Soviet Union to set aside 42.3 billion rubles for housing.

In rebuilding White Russia, the planners intend to utilize the region's own raw materials in order to keep costs as low as possible and impose no extra strain on the transportation system. With much of the rolling stock destroyed in the war, the problem of providing Russia with an efficient system of communications—a problem that drove some of the best administrators of previous five-year plans half crazy—has again assumed critical importance. The present plan provides not merely for resumption of pre-war operations, but a big increase in the production of locomotives and railroad carriages: 7,585 locomotives as compared with 5,960 produced under the second Five Year Plan; 472,000 freight cars as against the former record of 255,000. In addition to repairing destroyed lines, the Soviet Union will build 7,880 additional kilometers of track; not only are major lines, like Donbas-Krivoi Rog, to be restored, but new railroads will link the powerful industrial centers of the Urals, Russia's great war arsenal, and push their way across Siberia. The plan has allocated 40.1 billion rubles to these projects.

Simultaneously with the development of railroads, provisions have been made for the expansion of the automobile industry; under the Five Year Plan 500,000 new cars (428,000 trucks, 65,000 passenger cars, 6,500 autobuses) will reach the market. The Russians are terribly proud of their latest passenger-car models, especially the streamlined ZIS-110 turned out by the Moscow Auto Plant, and the "Pobeda" (Victory) launched by the Gorky factory. Here again praise for American techniques is heard; an engineer points to a model and asks with a broad smile, "Quite American, isn't it?"

While in devastated regions like White Russia the Five Year Plan admirably combines reconstruction and construction, it is in the areas untouched by the war that the effort to build a strong, prosperous Russia is seen at its most impressive.

The Ural range is one of the world's richest mountain chains, and the variety of its mineral resources have made it possible for the Russians to perfect an extraordinarily hard steel. It was with special reference to this region that M. Quaroni, the Italian Ambassador to Moscow, told me that not even a tenth of Russia's industrial potential had yet been tapped. The Ambassador, who speaks Russian like a native, is a veteran diplomat, with an open mind to everything that is happening in the Eastern countries where he has spent most of his career. It was not until after the October revolution that the Russians began the systematic exploitation of this area whose fabulous riches had been described in Russian legend and poetry as far back as the fifteenth century. During the war the smelting furnaces of Magnitogorsk poured out a steady stream of steel for Russian guns; today they are producing it for reconstruction. By 1950 Magnitogorsk alone will be turning out 70 per cent more cast iron and 110 per cent more steel and subsidiary products than in 1940. The Ural region as a whole will be producing 2.5 times more cast iron than in 1940; coal and petroleum output will be respectively 2.7 and 3.2 times higher than pre-war levels. Under the Five Year Plan the Urals will become self-sufficient in electrical power through the construction of a new hydroelectric station on the Kama River near Molotov City and of eight other stations along the Ufa River. A new housing development for metal workers at Magnitogorsk is being built

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in record time; individual units erected last winter in 40 days, were put up in the spring in 27 days.

Apart from Magnitogorsk, new steel mills are going up in Nizhni-Tagil and Chelyabinsk, while the one at Orsk-Khalilov will soon begin to manufacture a new metal containing a high percentage of chrome and nickel. The Five Year Plan for the Urals also provides for the maximum utilization of the big aluminum factories in Uralo-Bachiro. To make all this possible, forty-nine new coal mines will be opened during the next five years.

While White Russia and the Urals illustrate the application of the Five Year Plan in typical devastated and undevastated areas, a survey of the immense Soviet territory tells the same story with minor variations. A single figure reveals the breadth of this industrial effort: the total volume of industrial production for the last year of the Five Year Plan is set at 205 billion rubles (based on 1926-27 prices), in other words a general increase of 48 per cent over pre-war figures.

Although the greatest concentration is on heavy industry, generous provision is made for the producers of consumers' goods. The textile industry is expected to turn out 4.5 million meters of cotton, 150 million meters of wool, 141 million meters of silk, 240 million pairs of shoes, and 580 million pairs of socks and stockings. And while agriculture has been pushed to the utmost limits, the Soviet administrators are none the less hoping to achieve an annual 17 per cent step-up in the food industry. At first it was thought that rationing could be lifted this year, but in the light of the 1946 harvest, the Council of Ministers decided to continue it into 1947.

Figures on its output of goods for consumers have little intrinsic meaning, however, because Russia plans to augment its own production by large purchases in neighboring countries as the result of bi-lateral trade pacts. While I was in Moscow a delegation from Prague headed by Gottwald and Masaryk was putting the final touches on an agreement which will secure to Russia much of Czechoslovakia's production in light industry. Nor are these arrangements limited to the Soviet Union's area of influence. In Stockholm I found the Swedish Socialist government, hardly to be accused of partiality for the Bolsheviks, much pleased with its new pact, which will enormously expand Swedish business in both machinery and consumers' goods. The same is true for Switzerland.

In the cultural field Soviet planning seems to recognize no boundaries. I heard leading officials say that when the mass-education program of the Five Year Plan is completed, the Russians will be the most literate people in the world. I arrived in Moscow just after the close of the school term; 555,000 students and 50,000 scientific workers had received degrees. By the time the Five Year Plan has reached the mid-way mark, between 120 and 130 thousand specialists will have graduated from universities and technical schools.

The Soviet Union has just emerged from a battle for survival that ended with the Red Army's victorious entry into Berlin. Now it faces as hard an ordeal—the battle of reconstruction. But the Russian people are tackling this fight with the same confidence in ultimate success. Many casualties will be registered in the course of the Five Year Plan; from time to time we shall read of replacements in the leadership, of shifts from one post to another, or of wholesale dismissals, as, recently, in the Ukraine, which may give the impression that Russia is on the edge of an internal crack-up. In many cases these reports will mean simply that the principle of "the right man for the job" is being ruthlessly applied, alike to the highest-ranking official and the unskilled worker in steel mill or factory. Given the nature of the human race, perhaps we must expect industrial fraud and corruption. But in Russia these are dangerous games, not only because the socialist state is rigid in such matters, but because in the popular conscience there is a latent revulsion against anyone who seeks personal benefit in a common endeavor. Riding in the Moscow subway one day, I sat beside a young Russian soldier. He glanced at the book I was reading, noticed that it was in Spanish, and told me proudly that he had learned that language by himself. We got to talking, and when he discovered that I came from the United States, one of his first questions was, "Is it true that war profits are allowed in America?" He could understand profits in peace time, but the idea of making fortunes from war contracts while soldiers were dying at the front seemed to him incredible.

One should not, however, lay disproportionate emphasis on the difficulties the Soviet Union is likely to encounter in carrying out the Five Year Plan; Hitler made that mistake in evaluating Russian internal developments from 1937 to 1941—and it cost him Germany. Selling the Five Year Plan to the Russians is not as difficult a job as people imagine in countries where the working class is not in power. It would be ridiculous to deny the element of compulsion that accompanies any attempt at a planned economy, especially when the demands on the people are of such extraordinary magnitude. But it would be equally foolish to ignore the difference in attitude between a worker in a socialist country and one in a country of free enterprise. As far back as 1918 Lenin predicted that socialist competition would play a decisive role in the transformation of society. "Capitalism," he said, "produced a working capacity entirely unknown in the era of serfdom. Capitalism can and will be ultimately overcome because socialism will produce an even greater working capacity."

This is the attitude that inspires the Five Year Plan. And in this crucial period, when the most urgent task is to prevent the crystallization of two hostile continental blocs, those who forget the socialist factor will never understand the source of Russian strength.

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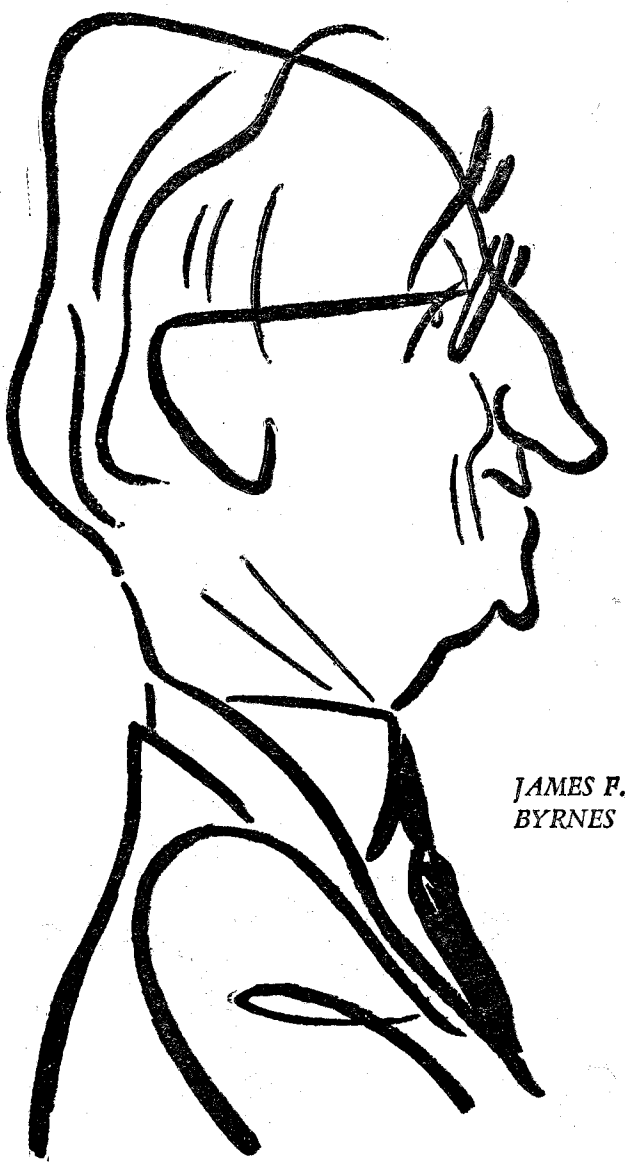
Paris



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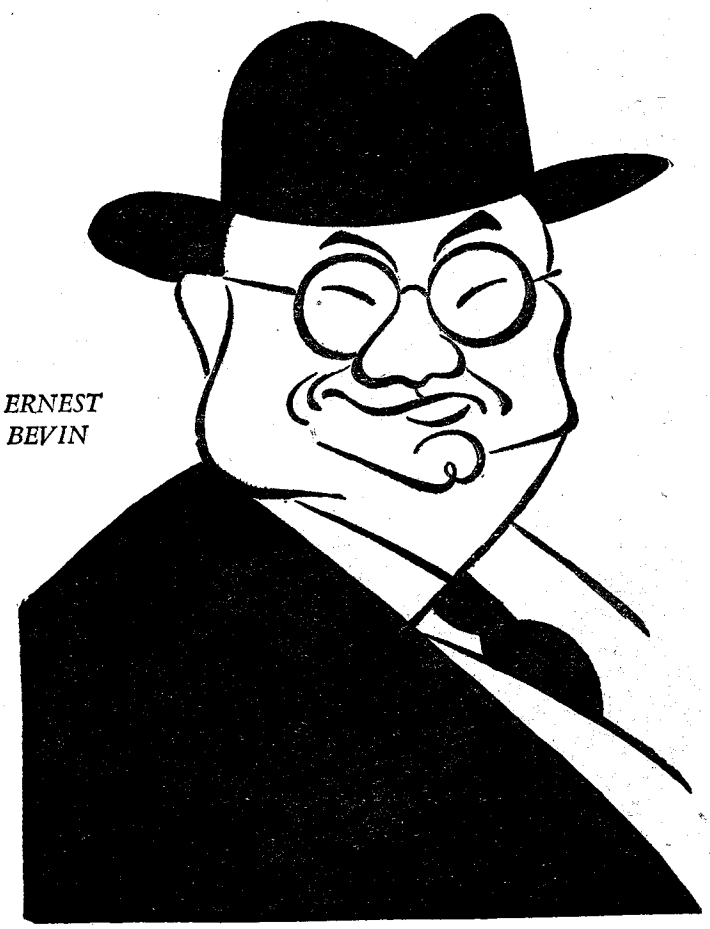

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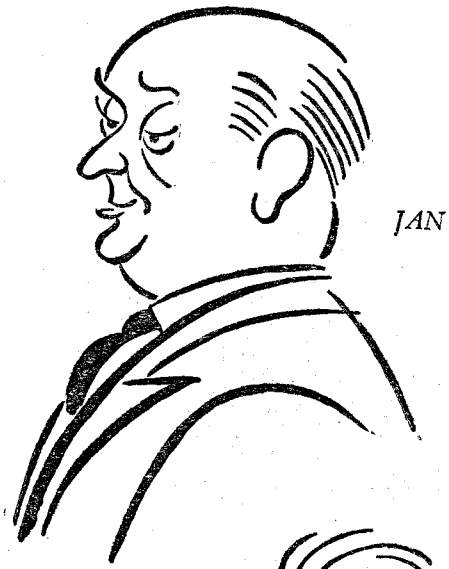
Profiles

BY OSCAR BERGER



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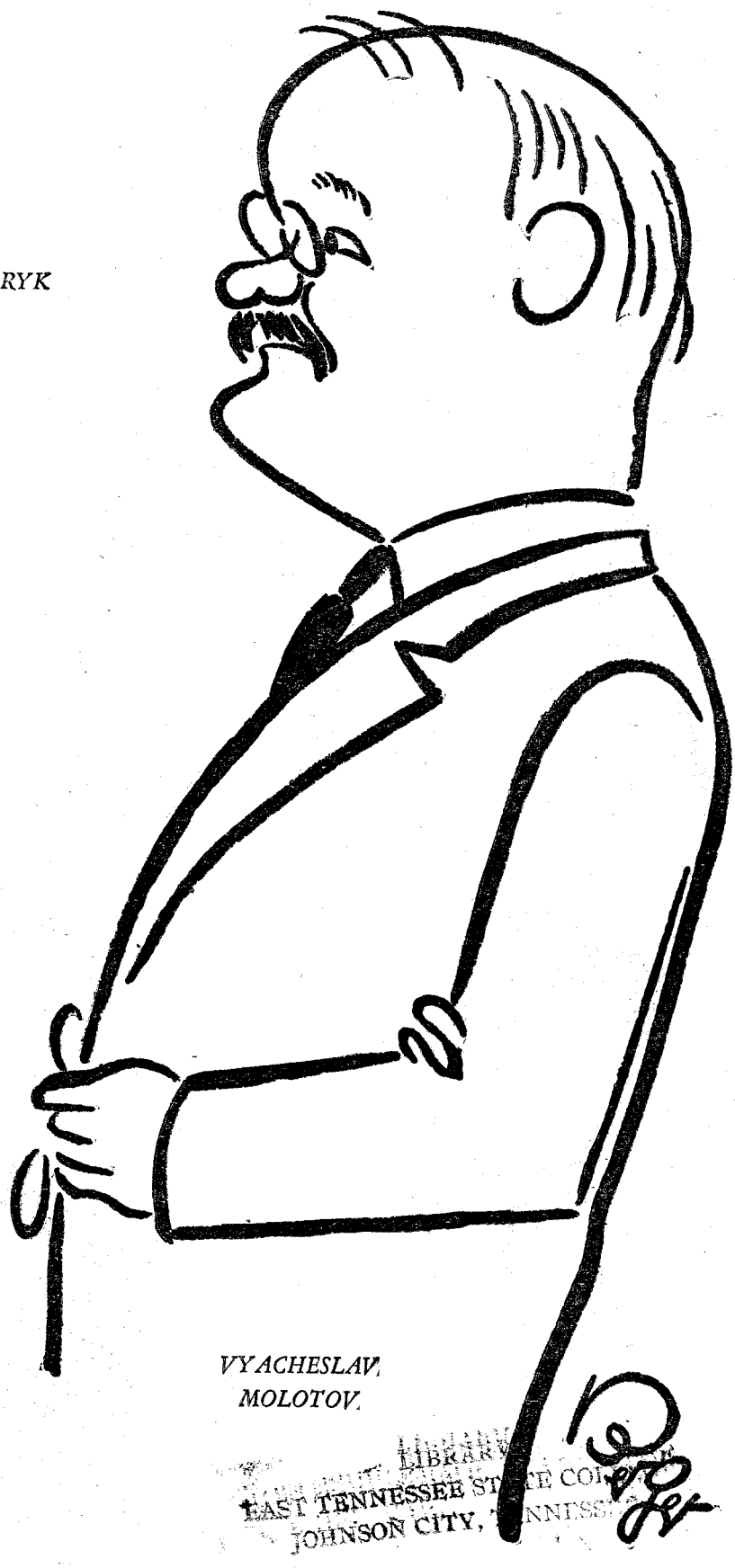

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Democracy in Manhattan

BY PAUL KLEIN

ON August 20 a primary election was held in Manhattan's Second Assembly District—held, that is, by the machines, and lost by the people. We have heard much in the past years about the disappearance of election frauds, the clean-up of city politics, the new, pure era in New York City voting; but Tuesday's exhibition is unrivalled in local political history.

John J. Lamula, father of New York State rent control and constant supporter of liberal measures both in private life and during his tenure as State Assemblyman in 1943-44, was entered in the primary races of all three parties. Denied backing by the regular Republican organization for his failure to follow reactionary party lines, he was indorsed by the Young Republican Club. (Lamula, by the way, was the only Republican ever to be elected from this traditional Tammany district, which brought up Al Smith.) In the American Labor Party and Democratic primaries Lamula faced Louis di Salvio, incumbent; in the Republican, Alfred D. Licato.

In the pre-primary electioneering, when Lamula was making street-corner speeches, malpractices began to appear. Thugs threatened storekeepers who let him use electricity for his loudspeakers; false issues were raised; local citizens were intimidated. Mayor O'Dwyer had to send extra police protection into the area. Two days before the election a brother of the local Republican leader was arrested for defacing posters.

It was on primary day, itself, however, that the democratic process was trussed-up and laid aside by the machine politicians. The story was unfolded in the Lamula headquarters that night as his official watchers despondently returned with their district tallies; it was a saga of every modern and old, sly and open, domineering and wheedling trick known to ward-heelers and their gutter familiars. Most of the Lamula watchers were well-meaning but inexperienced young people; they knew their rights generally, but were unprepared to cope with the connivance of officials appointed by the Board of Elections, and the apathy (in some cases this was a euphemism) of the police. Although a large portion of the crooked operations occurred during the counting, enough went on during the voting to shock the watchers. Several attempts were made to ring in "floaters" to vote for people who had died since the last election, or who were away for the summer. One gentleman who returned from the country just to exercise his franchise found that he had already voted!

THE AUTHOR of this article was an official watcher in the recent New York City primaries. "I emerged disgusted," he wrote, "and determined to help clean up local politics. Such a clean-up depends on an informed citizenry—and for that reason I have written this article."

Many boards did not have the required two Republican and two Democratic inspectors at each table; several complaints were made by watchers that only three inspectors attended. Two watchers were even impressed into inspection duty in the absence of regular officials. At one board a young man had his life threatened by a "lady" inspector who resented his insistence that he be allowed to carry out his official privilege of inspecting signatures. Another watcher asked that an arrest be made when an inspector offered a voter money for his carfare (plus a little extra for his trouble); however, because the voter didn't take the money (saying, "What? With a cop here? Later!"), the policeman on duty didn't think the incident warranted an arrest. It was at the same poll that an inspector "helped" aged voters who were having trouble with their ballots, by opening them up—*outside,* not in a booth with an inspector from the other party, as the law requires—and dismissed the watcher's complaint with "Well, see? We're so honest at this board that everything can be done out in the open!" Another watcher was kidded for taking his duties so seriously—kidded by a Tammany ward-heeler who remembered that "in the old days the boys used to crook elections, but no more. You might as well go home, get some rest. It don't pay to crook elections these days." This was the same inspector who was caught a few hours later, during the counting, marking up the ballots he was tabulating. When challenged, he drew the pencil quickly back towards himself, thus adding another illegal X to the ballot right in front of him, and said: "Naw, you got me wrong. See, I pulled the pencil away from the table like that just so you could see I wasn't marking up the ballots."

It was the same story in all thirty-eight election districts. At one, they counted half of Lamula's votes void—sometimes slyly adding some blotch to back up their story, and sometimes, in districts where the audience and/or cops were their own men, not even bothering to make it look good. At another, they counted blank votes for Licato or de Salvio. In another district, ten blank ballots were put aside to be handled separately; the watcher looked at something else for a moment, and when he turned back there were only eight blank ballots and the machine candidates had acquired two more votes. In all the districts the watchers were bullied and harangued for exercising their right to challenge or protest votes. In the districts with the most experienced inspec-

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tors (hence, with the greatest number of crooked votes)', the inspectors would hold a phony plebiscite and then "compromise" with the watcher—that is, allow him to officially register three or four out of twenty-four or twenty-five protests.

In one district that will long be remembered by Lamula supporters, dishonest counting was so rampant that the young lady watcher, unable to cope any longer with the threats of the hostile inspectors, called headquarters for aid. Lamula, himself, went straight to the poll in question, where he was informed that his watcher was merely having hysterics, and that he had been given a most careful and fair count, especially evidenced by the fact that in the disputed count—the Republican—he had *won*, twenty to sixteen. After a few words with the far-from-hysterical, but very angry, watcher, Lamula demanded and got an immediate recount: somehow the vote changed from the previous twenty-sixteen to twenty-three-eight in favor of Lamula!

Consider the financial outlay necessary to the campaign of a non-machine candidate and you will see why the thousand-dollar cost of a recount is prohibitive. Consider one more thing: the temper of citizens, although slow to kindle, is a difficult thing to control when once aroused. We need only look at the recent events in Tennessee to see what may happen in other sections if the officials themselves do not change local political practices. Our citizens, many of them young and returned from the war, want and demand fair and peaceful elections, but if these are not forthcoming they will demand and seize merely *fair* elections. Let us not force violence. Let us make these allegedly outdated practices be, in fact, outdated; let us have the voice of the people a true voice, not a reproduction through a mouthpiece.

A Crisis at Fisk

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

THERE is a crisis developing at Fisk University which is of more than local or even just racial significance. Fisk is at Nashville, Tennessee, and is one of the oldest institutions for the higher education of Negroes. Its body of alumni form a distinguished group, numbering today perhaps 3,500 living graduates.

As long as segregated colleges are necessary, a colored man, if properly trained, should head a school for colored students for obvious social and psychological reasons. But presidential timber among Negroes is rare because of limited education of opportunities, lack of cultural contacts, and, especially, lack of business and administrative experience. Gradually, however, Negro presidents are being selected, as witness John Hope at Atlanta, Mordecai Johnson at Howard, and Horace Mann Bond at Lincoln, Pennsylvania. In other words, while it is difficult to find the right colored man for the presidency of a Negro college, it is no longer impossible.

When a vacancy in the presidency was imminent at Fisk, an ideal Negro candidate for the position was presented, who had the practically unanimous backing of the alumni. Charles Harris Wesley was born in Kentucky in 1891. He is a graduate and trustee of Fisk; a doctor of philosophy from Harvard in history (1925); teacher and professor of history at Howard, 1913-1938; and dean of the Howard graduate school, 1938-1942. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow and has received an award from the Social Science Research Council; he has written books and articles, among them an outstanding history of Negro labor in the United States. For the past four years he has been president of Wilberforce University, in Ohio, and has conducted its affairs with marked success, reducing its debt, increasing its enrollment, and raising its scholastic standards.

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But the Board of Trustees of Fisk University at its June meeting postponed the election of a new president, although no other candidacies had been seriously advanced. The alumni charge that there were two reasons for the delay: first, an objection to giving a Negro a voice in the financial affairs of the university; and second, the white South's fear of encouraging intelligent and liberal leadership of Negroes by men of their own race.

Fisk has an endowment of about three million dollars. No Negro trustee is on the finance committee, and the financial affairs of the university are known in detail to only a few trustees. It has been charged that university funds are wastefully administered. One trustee is said to receive some $22,000 annually for handling the portfolio of investments, and it is alleged that the office of the vice-chairman of the board receives $12,000 annually for "promotion and publicity." The auditors in their last report declared that they had not examined the portfolio of investments.

But an even more serious matter is now at hand. In May the campaign of the United Negro College Fund was launched in Nashville by the retiring white president of Fisk University. At this luncheon, of course, no Negro

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could appear. There were present, according to the Nashville *Banner* (May 2, 1946), Nathan Adams, of the First National Bank of Dallas, Texas, "who is a leader in the fund campaign"; Edward Potter, Jr., Southerner and vice-president of the Fisk trustees; and several other whites, Northern and Southern.

Potter explained that the white Nashville members of the Fisk Board "have not approved of some things" at Fisk but thought it was better "to try to improve situations drifting into bad directions" than to desert and let the school "go to rout—to the left wing." President Jones complained that the attempt to name Wesley was precipitate. And then, according to the *Banner*, Adams, the Texas banker,

> strongly denounced the present federal administration, communism, and Eastern meddling as confusing the racial problems of the South. "The Negro won't work as long as Mr. Truman gives us Santa Claus in every community," Adams charged. He said he wondered "how many of us know how far to the left we have already gone" and predicted that solution of present-day problems is impossible "as long as we remain blind to the left wing." Pointing out that adoption of FEPC philosophies would mean we have come a long way from freedom, Adams warned, "Don't let them take the Democratic Party completely away from us. What are we, a bunch of morons?"

Obviously, it would be impossible today to find in the United States many educated Negroes who did not believe in the FEPC, and very few who were not eternally grateful for the forward-looking social work of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If it is the policy of the United Negro College Fund to deprive such men of leadership among their own group, it is time that this was clearly stated.

There can be no doubt as to the present situation: the Northern white trustees hesitate to put a Negro into the presidency; they would prefer a complacent, even if second-class, white man. The white Southern trustees would consent to a Negro president provided he was a Negro amenable to their guidance and not "radical"—that is, not an advocate of the FEPC, the abolition of the poll tax, or any New Deal policies. It is rumored that they are in partial agreement on a man of this sort.

Perhaps the time has come when Negro higher education can no longer depend upon gifts from the North or cooperation with the white South but must be supported by the students and alumni themselves. It would be a hard task, for education today is costly, and the alumni and students of Negro colleges are almost entirely in the lower-income brackets. But whatever the cost, Negro education cannot be dictated to by uncandid financiers in the North, and by so-called "liberal" Southerners who are trying to stop the Negro from thinking.

California's Central Valley Project

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

FIVE hundred miles long and a hundred miles wide, California's great Central Valley Basin is about half as large as England. Containing over 6,000,000 acres of irrigable land (twice the amount actually under irrigation, the valley has about 50 per cent of the state's cash farm income. Although many streams flow through the valley, it remained a semi-arid area until comparatively recent times. The northern part of the valley has about one-third of the land and two-thirds of the water. Floods in the north, drought in the south. Most farmers in the southern end of the valley pump irrigation water from wells which tap underground seepage from local streams. Over a period of years the underground water level has fallen at an alarming rate.

Since 1874 the people of the valley have been looking for a development plan that would harness the energies and integrate the resources of the basin. Central Valley Project is, finally, that scheme. It consists of a complex system of water works and power facilities designed to furnish irrigation water to areas now having none or not enough; to develop hydroelectric power; to prevent floods; to improve navigation on the Sacramento River; to repulse saline waters now intruding on some 400,000 acres of rich land in the delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers; and to furnish water to local industrial plants and municipalities. A multiple-purpose project, Central Valley demands a delicate and complex articulation of all phases of the development, since all are part of a basic plan. No single phase of the project, whether it be a dam, a canal, a recreation site, or a scheme to replenish the supply of salmon in the Sacramento River, can possibly be thought of except in relation to every other phase of the project.

The Bureau of Reclamation has recently completed its master plan for the development of Central Valley. If the plan is carried into effect, the Central Valley project would provide jobs for 18,000 for the next fifteen years; save existing acreage vitally dependent upon irrigation; provide water for 2,000,000 acres now irrigated from

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inadequate underground water sources; save 360,000 acres in the delta from saline intrusion; provide irrigation for 3,040,000 acres not now irrigated; and generate a total of 8.1 million kilowatt-hours of power annually.

Despite the fact that the people of California have repeatedly demonstrated overwhelming support for the Central Valley Project, a real danger exists today that it may be sabotaged. The opposition stems from two sources, or more precisely from two corporations: the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the Kern County Land Company. While the two corporations have different reasons for opposing the project—the one to protect its present monopoly on the distribution of power in northern California, the other to protect its vast land holdings in the southern part of the valley—they have joined forces in a vicious campaign to obscure issues, hamstring the Bureau of Reclamation, and retard (if possible prevent) completion of the project.

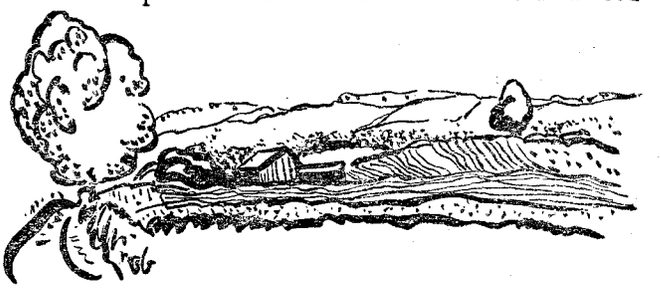
Electric power generated by Central Valley dams must serve a twofold purpose: it must be used to operate the pumping plants, which are a vital phase of the project, and it must be sold to consumers at the lowest possible rates—not merely to pass on the maximum benefits to the largest number of people, but also to attract new markets for the power itself. If a large demand for power is developed, and if the power is properly disposed of, revenue from the sale of power will not only repay the cost of the power facilities but will service at least half the cost of the entire project.

In hoping to sabotage the cheap power potential of the Central Valley Project, Pacific Gas and Electric has two major objectives: first, to prevent the Bureau of Reclamation from securing appropriations for the construction of transmission lines, stand-by plants, and distribution facilities; and second, to prevent the organization of public districts for the distribution of Central Valley power. Without the transmission lines and other essentials the Bureau will be compelled to sell Central Valley power to the only purchaser possessing these facilities, namely, P. G. and E. Thus today the Company is purchasing the power generated at Shasta Dam, since the Bureau's transmission lines extend only as far as Oroville. Continuance of this arrangement will mean, once the project is completed, that the government will be compelled to sell vast amounts of power generated at the dams to a private monopoly, only to turn around and buy a large amount of this same power in order to operate other phases of the project. To date forty-four public agencies have made application for Central Valley power, but the Bureau cannot service them because of this lack of distribution facilities.

In trying to prevent the formation of new public districts, and, at the same time, to force the existing public districts to enter into long-term contracts with it for power, P. G. and E.'s objective is to sew up the market so that even if Congress should eventually give the Bureau sorely-needed appropriations for transmission lines, the valuable markets will already have passed into the P. G. and E. orbit. The price at which municipalities and other public districts could purchase power from the Bureau would be about 40 per cent less than current rates paid to P. G. and E. If the State of Washington's average rates for power in 1944 were applied to the electricity sold by P. G. and E., it would represent an annual saving of $58,569,000 to California consumers!

Granted equal efficiency in operation, P. G. and E. can never pass on to consumers the ultimate maximum of benefits of Central Valley power. In 1943, under regulations of the State Railroad Commission, the corporation was allowed a return of 6.7 per cent of the fair value of all used and useful properties of the company, over and above all operating expenses and fixed charges. The Central Valley Project is being built under laws which require payment to the government of the power features of the project in 50 years at 3 per cent interest. (Irrigation features are to be repaid without interest.) The difference between 3 per cent, the cost of money to public agencies, and the 6-7 per cent allowed P. G. and E. represents the added burden carried by the people of northern California today. With government distribution of power, the initial costs of the power features would be eventually repaid out of earnings, and the rates for power could then be progressively reduced. But the stockholders of a private utility have a perpetual claim against its earnings. To range the irrigators on its side of the contest, P. G. and E. has made what, on the face of it, appears to be a fair offer to purchase Central Valley power. Pointing to this offer, the company says to the irrigators: if our bid, which represents a higher price for power than is required by the Reclamation Act, were to be accepted, the proceeds could be used to reduce charges for water. Of course the catch in this proposition is that the cost of power to P. G. and E. is an operating expense which would ultimately be paid by all consumers of power, including the irrigators.

The opposition of the Kern County Land Company (which owns over a million acres of land, 400,000 of them in California) is ostensibly based on the "excess lands" provision of the Reclamation Act. This section provides that landowners who use water from Bureau of Reclamation projects must agree to sell their "excess lands" at a price which does not reflect the increased



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value due to the construction of the project. In the case of Central Valley this increased value would amount to more than $100 an acre. Retention of the excess lands provision would work no hardships on the large landowners in the valley. They could receive project water for even their excess lands for a period of ten years before being compelled to sell these lands. In fact, they are under no compulsion to accept project water. But if they do, they must agree to sell all holdings in excess of 160 acres in single ownership, or 320 acres in community property ownership. Eighty-seven per cent of the farms in the Central Valley are less than 160 acres.

From the inception of the Central Valley Project, the large landowning interests fought to have the project exempted from the excess lands provision. Defeated in this move, they are now seeking to have the Army Engineers given the appropriations needed to complete the project. The purpose here is threefold: first, projects built by the Engineers are not subject to the Reclamation Act and therefore the excess lands provision would not apply; second, projects built by the Engineers generally do not require repayment of construction costs; and third, they are interested in flood control and navigation and have never shown any particular enthusiasm for multiple-purpose projects, of which Central Valley is the classic example. If constructed by the Army Engineers the dams yet to be built would unquestionably minimize the hydro-electric power aspects, and would be built, not as units in a larger scheme, but as separate, unrelated, and uncoordinated projects. I regret to report that the Army Engineers are working in intimate collaboration with the Kern County Land Company and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in an effort to secure control of the project.

The land question, as it relates to Central Valley, poses two additional questions.

For years a debate has raged in California over the relative efficiency of large-scale versus small-scale farming. The issue largely turns on the question of what is meant by "efficiency." Should it be narrowly construed to mean only a dollars-and-cents efficiency as reflected in the profit and loss statement of a particular farm operator? Or should it be broadly construed in terms of *social* efficiency? Studies made in Central Valley by the Department of Agriculture clearly demonstrate that a small-farming community has certain definite social advantages over a large-farming area. The small-farming community has more stability; it creates a more widely shared prosperity; it minimizes farm labor disputes; it has more stores and filling stations, better schools and roads; and it supports more people in independence. The San Joaquin Valley is the "Grapes of Wrath" country: a region plagued for years by intense, bitter, and often bloody conflicts between migratory farm workers and large landowning interests. In view of this record, the argument for the alleged efficiency of the large-scale farm might be more compelling if farm labor were protected by a comprehensive system of social legislation. Since no such protection exists today, the "if" is a very large "if" indeed. As a region, the Central Valley would profit by a breaking-up of these large holdings—more particularly by a diffusion of the great social, economic, and political power which their owners have exercised for so many years.

The second question has to do with underground waters. Even if the project is completed by the Bureau of Reclamation as planned, the following situation is likely to result: the small farmers will promptly sign up with the Bureau for water, but the large operators may elect *not* to use project water. Some of these large companies possess valuable water rights of their own, and, with scarcely a single exception, they all pump underground water. As the small owners receive more and more water from the project, and as the Bureau, as part of its plan, systematically diverts flood waters to fill underground reservoirs, the underground water level will gradually rise. This will then enable the large landowners to pump more water, and to pump it cheaper than they can do at present. Yet left with their large holdings intact, they will not be contributing a dime toward repayment of the costs of the development.

To save the Central Valley Project, the Bureau of Reclamation—not the Army Engineers—must be designated as the agency to complete the work in accordance with the plan which the Bureau has prepared and which has been submitted to the President and to Congress. Participation of the Army Engineers should be restricted solely to the flood-control and navigation features of the plan. Eventually it would be desirable to create a Central Valley Authority and to buy out the P. G. and E. holdings; but, with the lines of battle drawn as they are today, the immediate choice is between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers. In addition the Bureau must be given adequate appropriations to enable it to build the transmission lines, stand-by plants, and distribution facilities called for under the plan. Not only should the excess lands provision of the Reclamation Act be retained, and applied to this project, but the State of California should declare all underground water supplies to be a public resource and should then proceed to regulate the right to pump these waters. At the same time, the California delegation in Congress should dust off Senator LaFollette's farm-labor legislative program, submitted to Congress in 1942, and press for its immediate enactment. This will divert some of the excess lobbying enthusiasm of the Kern County Land Company from the Central Valley Project. Finally, Congress should conduct a thorough-going investigation of the private power lobby, now in more brazen operation than at any time since 1933.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A Barnyard History

ANIMAL FARM. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.75.

GEORGE ORWELL, to judge by his writing, is a man, not without imagination, who is never swept away by his imagination. His work as a literary critic and analyst of politics and popular culture runs along a well laid out middle course, kept true to it by an even keel; it is always very satisfying, except when he ventures out into certain waters, as in his reflections on art and poetry in his "Dickens, Dali, and Others," where a deep keel has the advantage over an even one. Even when he is wrong, as he was many times during the war in his political comments and predictions, he is wrong in a sensible way. He stands for a common sense and a reasonableness which are rare today, especially when these virtues are removed from the commonplace, as they are in Orwell's case, though not absolutely.

"Animal Farm," a brief barnyard history of the Russian Revolution from October to just beyond the Stalin-Hitler pact, is the characteristic product of such a mind, both with credit and discredit to its qualities. It puts an imaginative surface on the facts, but does not go far beneath the surface and shows little in excess of the minimum of invention necessary to make the transposition into an animal perspective. The facts are straight, and all the wieldy ones are there; the interpretation, within these limits, is plain and true. The implicit moral attitude toward the real historical events is one of an indignation that goes-without-saying, opposed to the nonsense and chicanery of Party dialectics, and to what has come to be recognized, to a large extent through Orwell's writing, as the well-intentioned, peculiarly liberal act of submission to the tyrant's myth. At least by implication, Orwell again makes clear in this book his allegiance to an older and more honorable liberalism that still holds as its dearest thing the right to liberty of judgment. Nevertheless, this is a disappointing piece of work; its best effort is exerted somewhere on middle ground, between the chuckle-headed monstrosity of orthodox Stalinism and the sated anti-Stalinist intelligence of long standing which already knows all this and a good deal more besides.

In brief, old Major, the pig, shortly before his death, delivers himself of the lessons of his life for the benefit of the animals of Mr. Jones's Manor Farm, pointing out to them how they have been exploited by Man (capitalism) and urging the revolutionary establishment of a better society (The Communist Manifesto). The animals drive Mr. Jones off the farm and hold it against his attempts to regain possession (Revolution and defeat of the Counter-revolution). Led by two pigs, Napoleon (Stalin), more or less in the background, and Snowball (Trotsky, with a soupçon of Lenin—for simplicity's sake, Vladimir Ilyitch is left out of the picture, entering it only as a *dybbuk* who shares with Marx old Major's identity, and with Trotsky, Snowball's) the animals institute a regime free of Man, based on collective ownership, socialized production, equality, etc. The pigs, who are the most intelligent animals, form a bureaucracy which does not at first enjoy many privileges, this development being held over until the factional dispute over the rate of industrialization and the strategy of World Revolution begins, Snowball-Trotsky is exiled, and Napoleon-Stalin comes to power. Then we have, in their animal equivalent, the important episodes of hardship and famine, growth of nationalism, suspension of workers' rights and privileges, frame-ups, Moscow Trials, fake confessions, purges, philosophical revisions—"All animals are equal" becoming, "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others"—the Stalin-Hitler pact, etc.—all of which is more interesting as an exercise in identification than as a story in its own right.

What I found most troublesome was the question that attended my reading—what is the point of "Animal Farm"? Is it that the pigs, with the most piggish pig supreme, will always disinherit the sheep and the horses? If so, why bother with a debunking fable; why not, *à la* James Burnham, give assent to the alleged historical necessity? But it is not so—for which we have Orwell's own word in a recent article in *Polemic* attacking Burnham. And if we are not to draw the moldy moral of the pig, what then?

Though Orwell, I am sure, would not seriously advance the bad-man theory of history, it appears that he has, nevertheless, drawn on it for the purpose of writing "Animal Farm." There are only two motives operating in the parable (which is already an oversimplification to the point of falsity, if we take the parable as intended); one of them, a good one, Snowball's, is defeated, and the only other, the bad one, Napoleon's, succeeds, presumably because history belongs to the most unscrupulous. I do not take this to be Orwell's own position, for his work has shown that he knows it to be false and a waste of time in historical analysis; it is, however, the position of his imagination, as divorced from what he knows—a convenient ground, itself a fable, to set his fable on. (If Marxism has really failed, the most ironic thing about its failure is that it should be attributed to the piggishness of human nature.) It is at this point that a failure of imagination—failure to expand the parable, to incorporate into it something of the complexity of the real event—becomes identical with a failure in politics. The story, which is inadequate as a way into the reality, also falls short as a way out; and while no one has a right to demand of "Animal Farm" that it provide a solution to the Russian problem—something it never set out to do—it is nevertheless true that its political relevance is more apparent than real. It will offer a kind of enlightment to those who still need it, say, the members of the Book of the Month Club, but beyond this it has no politics at all.

Another way of making this point is to compare "Animal Farm" with Koestler's "Darkness at Noon." Rubashov, also faced with the triumph of the pig, at least asks *why* the pig is so attractive, *why* he wins out over the good. This is a question that can no longer be answered by stating *that* the pig wins out. It is a more sophisticated question, for it realizes that the fact of the triumph is already known, and a more important one, for it leads to an examination of the

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pig's supremacy along two divergent lines, by way of a specific Marxist analysis of history, or a criticism of Marxism in general, both engaging the imagination at a crucial point. But Orwell's method, of taking a well worn fact that we know and converting it, for lack of better inspiration, into an imaginative symbol, actually falsifies the fact; thus over-extended, the fact of Stalinist "human nature," the power-drive of the bureaucracy, ceases to explain anything, and even makes one forget what it is to which it does apply. An indication that a middle of the way imagination, working with ideas that have only a half-way scope, cannot seriously deal with events that are themselves extreme. There is, however, some value in the method of "Animal Farm," provided it is timely, in the sense, not of newspapers, but of history, in advance of the news. But this is to say that "Animal Farm" should have been written years ago; coming as it does, in the wake of the event, it can only be called a backward work.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

The Play That Thought

THE PLAYWRIGHT AS THINKER. By Eric Bentley. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

A FEW years ago a weird little satire (at one time called "Foolscap," but it had as many titles almost as performances) appeared briefly on Broadway. The principal characters were George Bernard Shaw and Luigi Pirandello—who, injured in an automobile accident, were taken to the nearest hospital, which happened to be an insane asylum. Recovering, they resolved to write a play employing as characters the inmates and their dream selves. The result was sheer tomfoolery involving God and Cleopatra and a preface by Shaw which was longer than the play, of course, and some hocus-pocus by Pirandello about who was really who. It was an unimportant, rather vulgar play, but it demonstrated clearly the bewilderment of the modern theater and the modern audience at what two of its most important contributors were trying to do and say.

There have been a good many books of criticism which have attempted to remove this bewilderment. Mr. Bentley's is the latest and, in many ways, the most successful. It is clear, straight-forward, and written with enthusiasm. More important, it is not doctrinaire, save in its willingness to consider seriously any genuinely modern development in dramatic art. Mr. Bentley does not resist attempts to break with the well-made play, nor does he believe that any form which makes such an attempt is necessarily an improvement. But "The Playwright as Thinker" is not as dispassionate as its title and its willingness to see both the good and bad in every playwright, might lead you to expect. For Mr. Bentley is following the quest of the modern writer to express in dramatic terms the attitude of his time. It has been a quest as full of blood, sweat, and tears, as ever the life of a tragic hero could be, and that it is not yet ended Mr. Bentley indicates by enclosing his study in the ironical parenthesis of a consideration of the recent offerings of Broadway and the deficiencies of the college and little theaters.

The modern drama begins with the introduction of naturalism into the theater, with such plays as Hebbel's "Maria Magdalena," and with the concomitant discovery that the basic conflict might be a conflict of ideas as well as a conflict between a black villain and a white hero. To be sure in the older drama, in Shakespeare, the conflict between medieval and Renaissance ideas was reflected, but Shakespeare did not feel the necessity of choosing sides. The winds of doctrine began to blow more sharply in the nineteenth century, however, and the modern playwright, like the modern artist generally, felt called upon to choose sides and to fight. The modern dramatist no longer writes a prologue to put his audience in a receptive frame of mind. Instead he writes a preface, after the fact, to defend his world-view or his aesthetic theory which, in some instances, only further emphasizes the gulf between the artist and his intended audience.

With all the good-will in the world, it must be recognized that the playwright as thinker has not been able to put himself en rapport with his audience. It is not enough to say that modern culture—industrialism, capitalism, and the democratic movement—has created a demand that the drama should be obvious if not crude. The older dramatists were able to appeal on several levels when they were willing to subject themselves to the discipline required. After all, Mr. Evan's recent "Ur-Hamlet" was no more popular or successful than his former "uncut" version. And the great popular success of Shaw's "Candida" (which Mr. Bentley's shrewd analysis proves to be a very "unpleasant play" indeed) demonstrates how the toughest dialectical struggle may be dramatized in human terms.

The greatest of the early dramatic thinkers, Ibsen, has been classified as a writer of sociological treatises. But the sociological treatises of a past generation commonly are consigned to the job of collecting dust in libraries. The occasional revival of "Ghosts" or "A Doll's House" shows few signs of dust. Perhaps the problems are antiquated, as immediate problems are apt to become, but the problems of Mrs. Alving or Nora, like the inciting incident in Lear, are, to quote Mr. Bayes, "but to bring in fine things." The terrible story of Mrs. Alving is as universal in its implications as the terrible story of Othello, and therein lies the power and permanence of Ibsen. Mr. Bentley concludes from the practice of our more advanced dramatists that there is something old-fashioned in the "peep-show theater of illusion, suspense, individual psychology, and domestic tragedy." But it is hard to see what the drama is to be if it is not to be the mirror of nature, of human nature.

The unique tool of the dramatist, after all, is the actor, and his chief problem may well be what to do with him. There are plenty of evidences before us today of the unscrupulous use of the living actor to give a sense of life to the one-dimensional shadows of what Mr. Bentley calls commodity drama. There is likewise evidence, though seldom on the stage, of an uninformed use of actors as ideological puppets. This is not progress in art, or modernism, but atavism, a return to the medieval. It is not myth-making, but allegory-making. It took the English drama many generations to shake off the bonds of the dramatized sermon, for lively Vice to crowd deadly Prudentia into the wings. But the Epic Theater—of which the Living Newspaper and the radio documentary are developments—is perilously close to "The Castle of Perseverance."

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Every reader must concur with Mr. Bentley as he finds the commercial theater shallow and uninspired. Yet of the major playwrights he selects for discussion and analysis, Hebbel, Ibsen, Wagner, Shaw (the chapters on Shaw are outstanding, in striking contrast with the windy nonsense which the recent birthday celebration evoked), Pirandello, and even the somewhat tricksy Strindberg, each shows inescapably that individual and human forces are at work: representationalism is something which the drama cannot wholly discard without turning to marionettes. The dramatist need not be excluded by his form from the "more philosophical and partisan reasoning of modern art," but neither should he neglect the power of identification which is implicit in the form. One conclusion to be drawn from this study of the modern drama is that the Ibsen of our day, if we are to have one, must surely speak in terms of recognizable men and women, whatever he may be hopefully doing at bottom.

ALAN DOWNER

Nationalism

THE NATIONALITIES OF EUROPE AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL IDEOLOGIES. By H. Munro Chadwick. The Macmillan Company. $4.

NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. By Oscar I. Janowsky. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN THE WARS 1918-1941. By Hugh Seton-Watson. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

NATIONALISM AND AFTER. By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

IT is not by mere chance that within the last six months four books have appeared which deal with more or less the same problem. Nationalism, this problem child of our age, the foundation of sovereignty and the stumbling block of international relations, has—strangely enough—never cropped up in the discussions of the United Nations; no one wanted to complicate his power politics by conjuring up this specter haunting international peace.

Professor Chadwick calls nationalism a "vivifying and inspiring force" which has an ugly side only when it is associated with aggression. His book is devoted to the history of languages and the formation of the linguistic map of Europe. It was upon historical grounds, we are told, that the Germans based their claim to domination. Yet before the Emperor Joseph II, the Holy Roman Empire, in spite of its adjective *"deutscher Nation,"* was devoid of German nationalism; it took Bismarck to make the Germans nationally conscious. In spite of a one-sided approach and of some errors, the author has made a valuable contribution to the better understanding of a troublesome question.

Less historical is Professor Janowsky's aspect of nationalism, which may be tolerant as in America and England or intolerant as in the "war-breeding zone of East-Central Europe." There is a flaw in his argument that "Americanization is positive, requiring all to learn the English language and to become associated with all embracing American culture." What else did Prussianization or Magyarization require? And it was hardly a comfort to the Irish that the efforts to obliterate their native culture were used "but as a means of countering disloyalty." By praising nationalism in some countries, but censuring it in the "war-breeding zone," the author seems to overlook the fact that nationalism is twofold and aggressive only in its political manifestation. France and Germany fought many wars, but none over the superiority of Voltaire or Goethe. The greater aggressiveness of nationalism in East-Central Europe was partly due to Ottoman and Habsburg imperialism, which retarded its development. It was the overbearing *Drang nach Osten* and the German-British rivalry for world markets that was the real cause of the two wars, not the Sarajevo murder or even "the depravity deeply imbedded in the teachings of respectable *Junkers*." The most valuable contributions of the book are Professor Janowsky's analysis of the multi-national states, and his suggestion that national federalism be combined with economic unity in the reorganization of this region.

Hugh Seton-Watson arrives at a similar conclusion; but he realizes that any federation in Eastern Europe depends primarily on social changes and relations with the Great Powers. The authority of his thinking is the result of thorough study, of an exhaustive knowledge of the languages and countries of Eastern Europe. His work deals with the struggle of minorities, but within the frame of political history between the two wars. This is, before everything, the history of the peasantry; in discussing the agrarian problem he makes a praiseworthy attempt to escape misleading propaganda, but occasionally without success. It was certainly not the sudden death of Count Bethlen's Minister of

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Agriculture that caused "a fairly generous land reform" to be abandoned (p. 77); the various governments of the counter-revolution had consistently worked against it, as the author himself admits. Slight errors like this one do not mar the detailed and valuable picture of these national and international struggles. Nationalism was the foundation of what Seton-Watson calls "small power imperialism," but nationalism has been the villain in the play which big power imperialism has staged in Eastern Europe. Seton-Watson candidly admits that "Munich was the greatest defeat . . . suffered by Britain since the loss of the American colonies," but forgets to mention that the French system of alliances was wrecked less by Italian policy than by the policy which encouraged the rearmament of Germany and her satellites.

Whether Professor Becker is justified in believing that nationalism cannot be abated or sovereignty curbed remains open to discussion. It has to be admitted that Dante and Goethe have preceded Mussolini and Hitler, and will survive their memory. There is no reason to assume that creative nationalism cannot continue unless one nation exterminates or enslaves others. Consequently the optimistic outlook offered by Professor Carr is most gratifying. His little book once more substantiates T. H. Huxley's dictum: "Size is not grandeur." Professor Carr points to the absence of any trace of national exaltation on the outbreak of the last war, in contrast to the patriotic fervour of 1914. "National hatreds have lost their old spontaneous frankness and mask themselves in ideological trappings." After examining the periods of its development Professor Carr concludes that World War II "may well turn out to have been the last triumph of the old fissiparous nationalism," just as toleration followed the religious wars of the seventeenth century. But stability and security of an international order can be achieved, Professor Carr believes, only by "a balanced structure . . . for the planned development of the economies of geographical areas and groups of nations."

This opinion may be optimistic, but it is certain that war cannot be banned by juggling the traditional idols of national sovereignty, as the League did and as the United Nations still do. Whoever will become the first hero of peace—by explaining to the Security Council that Dante, Cervantes, and Goethe are not the necessary precursors of Mussolini, Franco, and Hitler—will do a greater service to mankind than all the pygmy statesmen and diplomats who protect their sovereignties by hurling innuendos and invectives at each other.

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Letters to the Editors

Jewish Immigration

Dear Sirs: The Byrnes proposal of unification of the four occupation zones of Germany leads to the question why in other administrative matters the British and the United States zones should not be considered as a unit. With the unpardonable delay in executing the recommendations of the Anglo-American Palestine Commission, steps should be taken not only to distribute the displaced persons over a larger area, but also to take out those who are able to leave.

Under President Truman's directive of December 22, 1945, displaced persons under corporate affidavits and relatives of United States citizens with individual affidavits can emigrate to the United States if their residence is in the American zone. Many Jews in Berlin, as well as in Vienna, who have satisfactory affidavits from relatives, are unable to come to the United States because they live in the British sector of the city. It is reported from Berlin and Vienna that it is impossible to find enough Jewish and non-Jewish refugees whose status complies with the Truman directive.

On one hand we are trying to approach the unification of the various zones of Germany, and on the other we do not allow people living in the British section of a partitioned city to emigrate to the United States. Since the British zone can supply immigrants, it is wise to take this advantage.

I believe that we are obligated to encourage these people, who have sacrificed so much during the last five years. We have to open new avenues for them on which to rebuild their lives. If we fail them, we destroy the very foundation upon which democracy is built. Their enforced stay in Berlin, Vienna, and other parts of the British zone, for technical reasons only, must be considered as an unjust punishment.

KURT R. GROSSMAN

Kew Gardens, N. Y., August 5

Los Alamos Approved

Dear Sirs: After reading "Los Alamos, New Mexico" by Alden Stevens (*The Nation*, August 3), I feel like sending you this letter of appreciation.

I lived in Los Alamos for over a year as one of the "tough" machinists mentioned in the article. Thus I am fully qualified to say Mr. Stevens has done a one hundred per cent fair and accurate job of reporting.

It is extremely difficult for any writer to characterize and to generalize without being trite and flat. Mr. Stevens has managed to catch the general mood encountered in Los Alamos, which is hard to describe and which is distinctively different from any other place in the United States.

WALTER GERSTEL

Berkeley, Calif., August 15

Los Alamos Regretted

Dear Sirs: Having just seen motion pictures of the last Bikini explosion, I have still greater regret that Alden Stevens expressed approval of the work done at Los Alamos. The intelligent, cooperative people there, he says, "can take satisfaction in the fact that their work together

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. . . helped to bring a swifter end to the war and saved many American lives." The implication is that the far greater number of Japanese lives lost, the great cities destroyed, are not even worth a thought. Gandhi is quoted as saying the atomic bomb had destroyed America's soul. In the end, may not millions of lives—yes, American lives, too—be sacrificed to the fear aroused by our invention and by the memory of its needless use against civilians?

EDWARD S. ALLEN

Ames, Ia., August 21

Opposition to Chisholm

Dear Sirs: Please accept a mild protest against the cosmology and ethics of G. Brock Chisholm which are obviously unworthy of *The Nation's* pages. As an idle mid-summer pastime, this sort of speculation may have its interest, but it offers us cold comfort indeed. If you read his articles carefully (*The Nation*, July 20-27, 1946) you will see that they undermine most of the assumptions on which a liberal journal should operate: namely, that since man has survived so far and is still surviving, what he does, how he lives, and what he believes are of infinite importance to him, and that conscience is not simply a childhood hangover. Life is tough, but don't let *The Nation* lose its nerve too.

R. W. FLINT

Dennis, Mass., August 2

Research on Gissing

Dear Sirs: I am engaged in research on George Gissing and would like to appeal to your readers for permission to see any letters of Gissing's. He spent some time in America, and letters from him may still be in existence. If any reader has such letters, I would appreciate it if he would write to me as soon as possible, my address is c/o Miss Clayson, 60 New Oxford St., London, W. C. 1, England. JAMES PATERSON

London, July 16

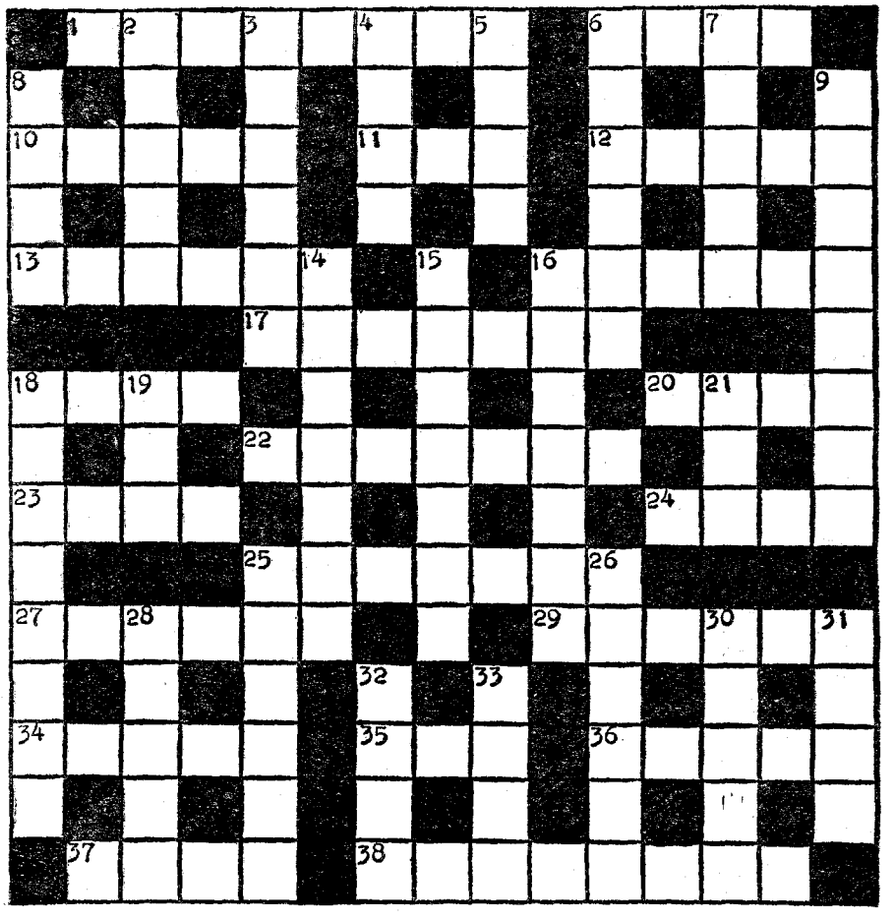
Loan for Palestine

Dear Sirs: Regarding the Palestine partition proposal, if the United States is supposed to put up $300,000,000 for Arab welfare, why not use the money to buy all of Palestine and consider that money as a long-term loan to a new Jewish state? Certainly world Jewry would underwrite such a solution to a thorny problem. LEONARD GORDON

Los Angeles, August 14

Crossword Puzzle No. 177

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The 119th Psalm is in the form of one
6 Wine for a cast iron inside
10 In Capri lovely, and in England
11 Mightier than the sword — you can sign checks with it!
12 It's not done
13 Pass between India and Afghanistan
16 Roman for "bloke"?
17 France's *Cote d'Azur*
18 Carries the horn in the hunt
20 This vehicle needs a "shuvver"
22 Not a rickshaw coolie
23 To come home thus is surely to enjoy more than a walk-over?
24 Very little is needed to make a happy one, said the old Roman
25 Appointed as ruler over (3 and 4)
27 A maker of wheels, ships or plays
29 What 13 is
34 Of birds
35 Pretty cool
36 One who glides over the snows to heaven?
37 Move round and 'round
38 External

DOWN

2 A tasty dish
3 Comparatively greasy
4 Sound sleepers
5 Sealskin? No, rabbit
6 Hun king
7 French tobacco
8 It is the dog-watch on board, no doubt
9 Study a French river: you take it in its course
14 Vile rut with water in it
15 His is the grimmest of crimes
16 Is this one of the reasons why China is not a sea power?
18 Panama (5 and 3)
19 Object
21 French king
25 Kicked up more with leg than foot, apparently
26 A cattleman or poker player, perhaps
28 This sort of building requires no camouflage
30 Ignatius' diminutive offspring
31 Pound of poetry
32 Comb factory
33 A Tory in disguise

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 176

ACROSS:—1 SETTING; 5 WHATNOT; 9 ISHMAEL; 10 SCARCER; 11 CUTTY; 12 PARAMOUNT; 14 FAST; 15 LUMINOL; 18 TUB; 20 EWE; 21 READERS; 23 PERE; 26 CHARABANC; 28 THREE; 29 LYING TO; 30 EXAMPLE; 31 RANKEST; 32 SENATOR.

DOWN:—1 STITCH; 2 TAHITI; 3 IN ANY CASE; 4 GALIPOT; 5 WASTREL; 6 ALARM; 7 NOCTURNE; 8 THROTTLE; 13 HUE; 16 MARK TWAIN; 17 OWN; 18 TRICOLOR; 19 BAVARIAN; 22 SEAPORT; 25 PACKETS; 24 ARMPIT; 25 VENEER; 27 ANGLE.

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